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CALIFORNIA HISTORY



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Milestones in California History



Long Beach looking south toward the famous Pike, one of the city's principle tourist attractions, June 28, 1925. CHS/Ticor Collections.

The South Bay area in Los Angeles County has been celebrating two historic birthdays this past and present year, 1987–1988. First was the celebration of the centennial of the founding of the city of Long Beach. Intertwined with the history of that city are two famed ranchos, Los Alamitos (Little Cottonwoods) and Los Cerritos (Little Hills). The ranches date back to 1784. In that year, Governor Pedro Fages, though unsure of his right to do so, granted the Rancho Los Nietos to a retired soldier, Manuel Nieto. The original grant extended from the Santa Ana River to the San Gabriel River, from the mountains to the sea, and encompassed some 300,000 acres. Later, at the behest of the Mission San Gabriel padres, the title was divided into five ranchos, reducing the total acreage to 158,000 acres. On the death of Nieto in 1804, his son Juan José succeeded to what became known as the Los Alamitos, while his daughter, Doña Manuela Nieto de Cota, took possession of Los Cerritos. The titles were subsequently confirmed by the Mexican government in 1833–1834. The present city of Long Beach lies within the boundaries of these two rancho grants, with most of the original townsite on former Cerritos land. On the eve of the American acquisition, both ranchos were acquired by two Anglos, Abel Stearns and John Temple. After the Civil War, the properties were purchased by two families, the Flints and Bixbys, whose lives became intertwined with the development of the South Bay. Indeed, the whole of Long beach was once the property of the Bixby family. In 1882, an English immigrant, William E. Willmore, acquired 4,000 acres from Jotham Bixby, which embraced the future center of Long Beach. He modestly called his planned community Willmore City. That vanity was shortlived. By 1884 his scheme collapsed, but the seeds had been planted. In 1887, the newly organized Long Beach Land and Water Company was formed and carried on the real estate development, aided and abetted by the land boom of the 1880s. The company renamed the area Long Beach, which in turn quickly won for the burgeoning community recognition as a premier seaside resort. Little wonder, seven miles of unsurpassed beach fronted an inland area that over the ensuing decades would become home to thousands. One of the companies which has participated in the development and history of Long Beach is the Alamitos Land Company.

The California Historical Society is pleased to salute Long Beach on its centennial year past, and the Alamitos Land Company which celebrates its like occasion this year.

(Cover) The town of Bodie, Mono County, resulted from a 1859 gold discovery in the vicinity by Waterman (or William) S. Body (pronounced Bodie). The mining boom lasted until 1870, with a revival from 1876 to 1880. Subsequently, the town was abandoned. Today the ghost town is a State Historic Park. CHS Collection.

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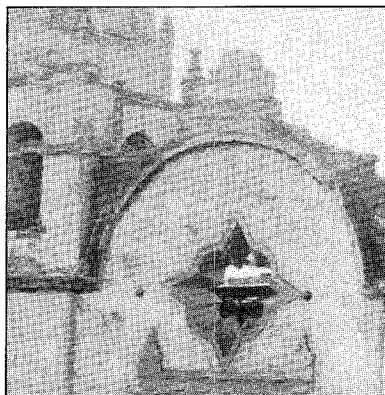
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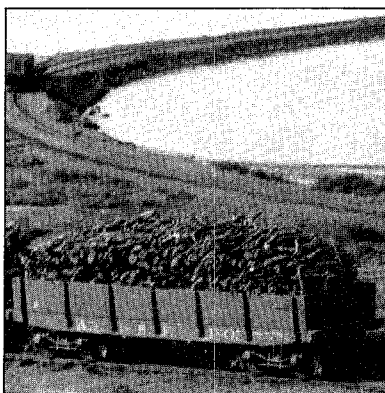
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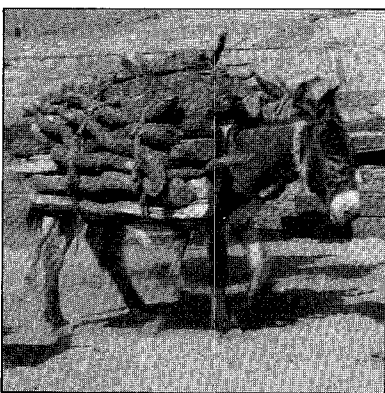
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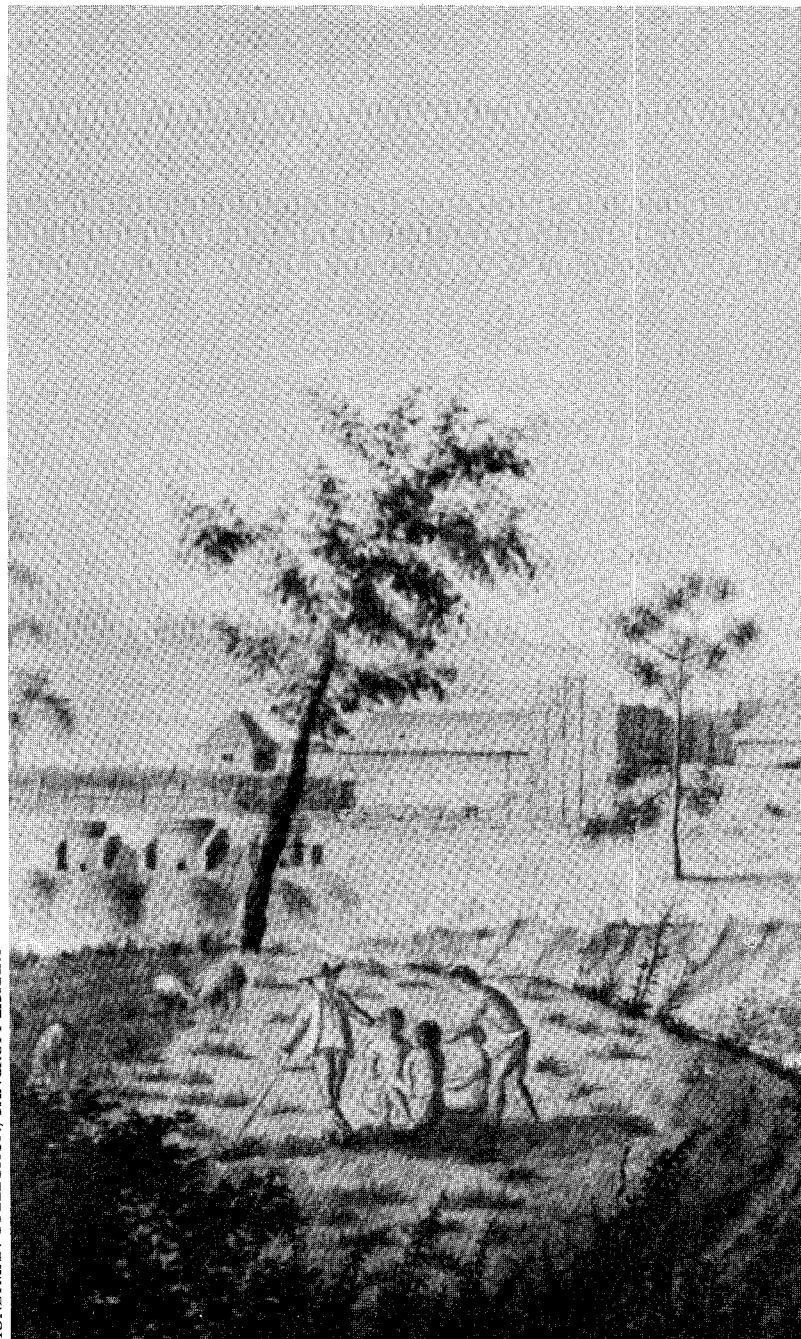
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Spain maintained a post surgeon, usually referred to as surgeon-general, at Monterey in Alta California during most of the fifty-three years in which she ruled the province. These men have been listed in chronological order as Pedro Prat, Pedro Castan, José Davila, Pedro Carbajal, Pablo Soler, Juan de Dios Morelos, Manuel Torres, José Benites and Manuel Quijano. Manuel Torres did not actually serve in California. A document of the Accountancy General of the Navy and Royal Finance Ministry of San Blas, dated July 27, 1810, states that "on the 11th of November, 1801 he was assigned there to the Presidio of Monterey, that he presented himself at San Blas on the 2nd of September of 1802, that on the 8th of April of 1803 he acceded to the renouncement of that post as ordered."¹ The fact that Torres did not hold the post has also been speculated upon by a previous writer.²

All of the surgeon-generals came to Monterey by sea. Pedro Prat embarked from La Paz, or perhaps Cabo San Lucas, in Baja California, whereas all of his successors took ship at the port of San Blas on the west coast of Mexico.

José de Galvez, visitador general of New Spain, founded that port in 1768 to serve as a supply base for the contemplated colonization of Alta California and for the existing settlements in Baja California. It was also to serve as the port of departure for vessels exploring the Pacific Coast and countering Russian and English expansion. It was often referred to as San Blas de Californias to differentiate it from other communities of the same name and to indicate its basic function. San Blas became a thriving port with facilities for ship building and repair and with a transient and permanent population made up of maritime people, workers and, of course, chaplains and medical officers. Most of the latter were members of the military and usually affiliated with the Spanish navy.

San Blas was well situated for favorable winds and currents, both for the outbound and inbound voyages but, otherwise, it was not a very satisfactory site. There was no sheltered harbor, and the area was tropical, swampy and abounded in mosquitoes. Dysentery was endemic and malaria prevalent. Its usefulness as a port ended with the passing of sail.



HONEYMAN COLLECTION, BANCROFT LIBRARY

The prime interest in the present study is in Manuel Quijano, frequently spelled Quixano, the last of the Monterey surgeons during the Spanish regime. He served there from 1807 until his death in 1823. Quijano, however, cannot be properly introduced without consideration of his predecessor José Benites.

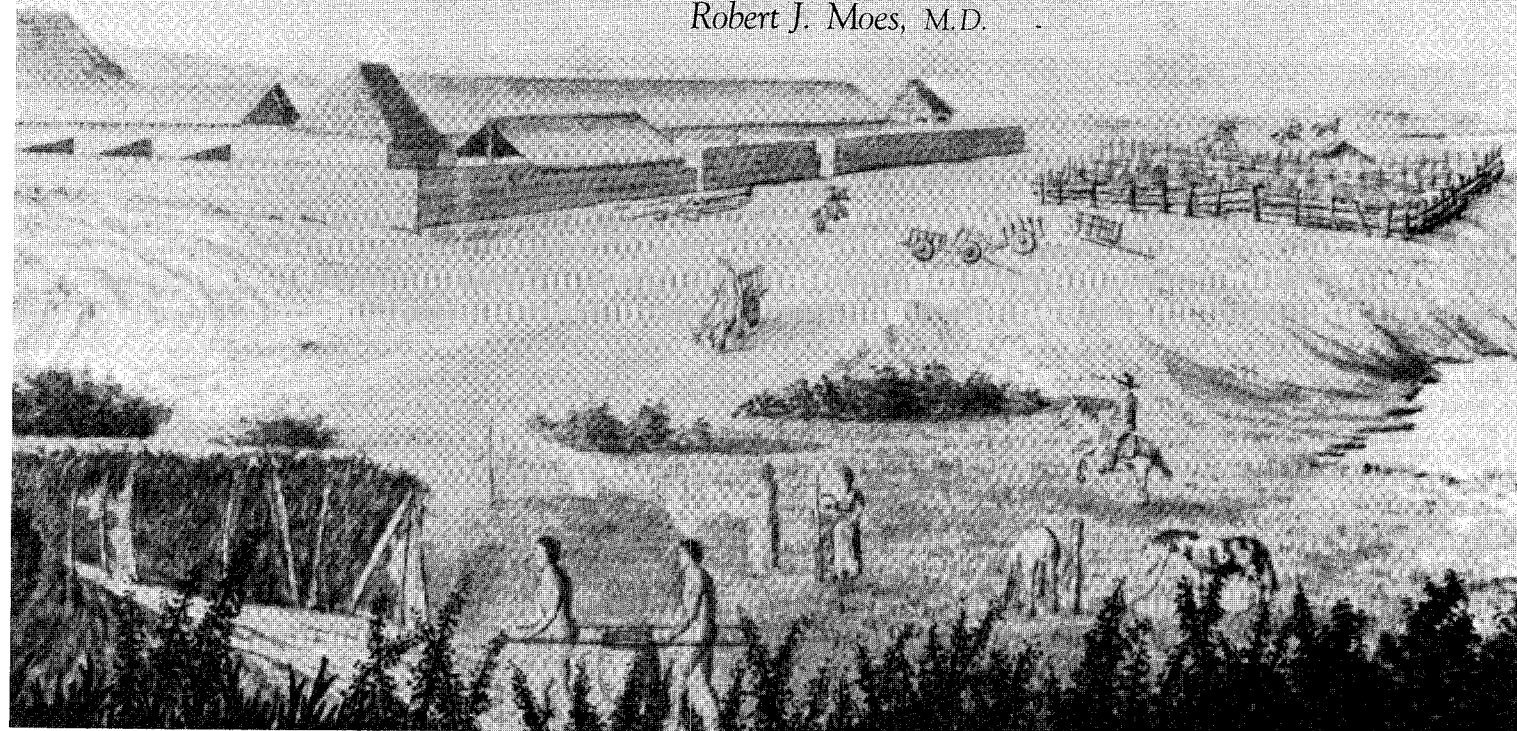
Benites served at Monterey from 1803 to 1807; he also had been one of a pool of officers at San Blas. He is best remembered for a medical report to the viceroy, dated January 1, 1805, covering the health and hygiene of the California population. This communication and its repercussions have been admirably covered elsewhere.³

The tenor of Benites' report is apparent in the second paragraph, the first being introductory.

First syphilis or French malady; humid climate with con-

MANUEL QUIJANO AND WANING SPANISH CALIFORNIA

Robert J. Moes, M.D.



tinuous heavy fogs and great cold. The causes of the first are the use of polluted water employed for all preparations of food, the lack of cleanliness in the homes due to disinclination toward such, their lack of space and the presence of an estuary near the Presidio without communication to the sea except in winter, and even then so stagnant that it spreads putrefaction, which is the origin of diseases. The waste water from the laundry, which is located about four varas [yards] from the above mentioned estuary, serves for the preparation of food, good water being a league and a half distant. The infrequent use of vegetables, or lack of taste for them, the constant exposure of the people to the humidity, fogs and rains in their season and the frequent habit of drying their clothes on their bodies by natural and artificial heat are causes for corruption.

Benites also reports epidemic dysentery, tuberculosis and scrofula (tuberculous disease of the skin, once very common in Europe and referred to in England as the

King's Evil). He notes the great filthiness of the bodies and villages of the Indians and deplores their "excessive impure relations" and "the sick sleeping with the healthy ones." He particularly damns the "depraved" use of temescal or sweat house, which, by modern standards, appears to be one of the few clean and healthy things that the Indians did.

Benites, too, with understandable ego, reports a number of cures which he accomplished. He also reports his findings at Mission San Luis Obispo, apparently the farthest south he had gone on his visits.

He did make one excellent and definite suggestion and, here again, it is best to quote him:

Your Excellency, in this place, in order to further the comfort and nurse the illnesses of the troops and neighbors of the Presidio, and of others, it would be good if we had a room [hospital or infirmary] to help them. Hitherto, for lack of this



and other equipment many of them have had to be abandoned, to sleep in their homes in one bed with their wives, not having another, from which results spreading of diseases and detriment to the Royal Service. Also the unmarried men in the Presidio are left by themselves in the hands of their own kind. All this I call to the attention of the kindness of Your Excellency that you may make disposition according to your superior pleasure.⁴

The avoidance of responsibility and buck passing

A distinguished collector and scholar of the history of medicine, Robert J. Moes, M.D., is a retired Los Angeles surgeon. He has authored a number of studies of medicine in early California.

created by this report were remarkable. True enough California was a distant province and one in which there was only a small population, but it does seem that bureaucratic fumbling had increased in the short period since the days of Galvez.

Viceroy Iturrigaray received the report and passed it on to the Fiscal, the officer in charge of the Treasury. The Fiscal's review, dated April 27, 1805 and over 600 words in length may be summarized as follows: He was of the laudable opinion that the object should be to adopt the best methods for the welfare of humanity either by destroying the contagiousness of indigenous diseases or by adopting measures to check them. He added that in harmony with the Royal Decree of November 8, 1797, "a physician with an adequate

(Previous page) José Cardero's view of the presidio of Monterey, 1791, which had changed but slightly when Quijano arrived to take up his post in 1807. Cardero was the artist who accompanied the expedition of Alejandro Malespina, a Spanish-sponsored round-the-world exploration and scientific venture.

A watercolor of Mission San Carlos Borromeo by William Smyth, 1827, two years after Quijano's death. The latter was buried in the mission cemetery. Smyth served as artist on H.M.S. Blossom, Captain Frederick Beechy, which visited Monterey for five days in the winter of 1827-1828.

the report of Benites and this reply should be forwarded to the Illustrious Diocesan [the Bishop of Sonora].⁶

The Royal Medical Board did review the communications of Benites and of the Fiscal and made their own report on May 10, 1805. This document is almost precisely the same length as that of the Fiscal. Pertinent portions include:

No method can be devised which can spare the inhabitants to the diseases which they suffer since the latter are due to inevitable causes and voluntary indiscretion; to the first belong the extreme cold, the lack of shelter, the bad water, lack of vegetables and badly prepared meats; to the others belong carnal promiscuity, the mingling with infected persons, and the natural slovenliness of a people as yet little civilized, and who, in case of sickness despise rational medicines and use only the empirical treatment dispensed by their national doctors, each of which has knowledge only through his own experiences.

The Royal Medical Board handled the matter of an infirmary in this fashion:

There is no doubt that the establishment of an infirmary, into which the patients might be gathered, would facilitate their normal convalescence and be of the greatest assistance to Benites, but in addition to the difficulty pointed out by the Fiscal concerning its construction there is that of being able to get hold of the sick persons on account of the aversion they hold to such asylums. And, furthermore, there is the matter of accessory expenses such as arise in hospitals. . . .⁷

The viceroy apparently felt that some action was indeed necessary and particularly because he himself had originally requested the medical report. Consequently, he did refer the problem to the Bishop of Sonora whose jurisdiction included California. On September 26, 1805, the Bishop wrote Fr. Estevan Tapis, the President of the Missions. This letter is quoted in its entirety.

The paternal zeal of the Most Excellent Lord Viceroy of New Spain as a consequence of the account given him by the Surgeon of the Presidio, of Monterey, Don Jose Maria Benites, concerning the diseases which predominate in the New Californias has caused him to charge me to adopt those necessary measures which will aid in the alleviation of the patients, and in accord with the above mentioned account, never doubting that attention to humanity, and the exercise of apostolic charity

stipend" (Benites) had been sent to upper California.⁵

The Keeper of the Treasury then suggested that the report, and his opinion of it, be sent to the Royal Medical Board for their recommendations which would in turn be forwarded to Benites, and that the doctor might then go to visit the missions and the presidios of San Diego and that of the Channel (Santa Barbara).

The Fiscal flatly turned down the request for a hospital room at Monterey and did so in a manner strangely modern:

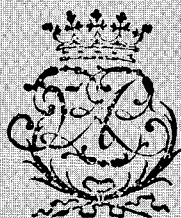
Although the critical and pressing conditions of the exchequer does not permit the establishment of a room or hospital as proposed by Benites, the emergency seems to the Fiscal adequate to warrant that Your Excellency be pleased to order that when the Royal Medical Board has prepared its report,

DISERTACION
FÍSICO-MÉDICA,
EN LA QUAL
SE PRESCRIBE UN MÉTODO SEGURO
PARA PRESERVAR A LOS PUEBLOS
DE VIRUELAS

HASTA LOGRAR LA COMPLETA EXTINCION
DE ELLAS EN TODO EL REYNO.

.SU AUTOR

D. FRANCISCO GIL,
CIRUJANO DEL REAL MONASTERIO DE S. LO-
RENZO Y SU SITIO , É INDIVIDUO DE LA
REAL ACADEMIA MÉDICA DE MADRID.



MADRID MDCCLXXXIV.

POR D. JOACHÍN IBARRA , IMPRESOR DE CAMARA DE S.M.
CON SUPERIOR PERMISO.

which characterizes your sacred institute, I transfer this charge to Your Paternalness with all its injunctions by which the pious intentions of the said Most Excellent Lord may be viewed as accomplished. God guard Your Paternalness for many years.

*Culiacan, September 26, 1805
Fr. Francisco, Bishop of Sonora⁸*

Fr. Tapis followed through as is evident in a letter written by him on January 19, 1806. This, too, will be quoted in its entirety other than for the deletion of one

paragraph relating to a religious matter:

*San Carlos de Monterey
Viva Jesus*

*Reverend Fathers, Apostolic Presidents and
Ministers from Soledad to San Diego*

My esteemed Fathers and Sirs:

By the attached copy and original communication of the Most Illustrious Lord Bishop of Sonora Your Reverences will be informed of the charge which his Most Illustrious Lordship has laid on me; the which I not being able to personally

One of the most important medical books brought to California prior to 1821, Dr. Francisco Gil's treatise on the physical and medical aspects of smallpox, published in Madrid, 1784, which discusses the technique of inoculation against the dread disease. Twenty copies were sent to Upper California in 1786, this being one of the known surviving copies. During Quijano's tenure of service in the province, the first smallpox vaccination was introduced.

accomplish I expect it shall be done by means of Your Reverences apportioning to the surgeon Don Jose Benites that help which depends on Your Reverences in order to complete the commission which by order of the Most Excellent Lord Viceroy has been charged to him. I had determined to circulate the attached papers when the aforementioned surgeon undertook his journey; but the sudden departure of the said Senor frustrated my intentions, which occurred without my having any knowledge of it.

The Lord Governor arrived at this nearby Presidio on the 15th of this month; and he finds himself in good health, God be thanked. In continuation of the matter the evidence of having received this [your signatures] shall be placed on it; which along with the copy and original shall be returned to me from San Diego.

Our Lord God guard Your Reverences for many years in His Holy Grace.

Fr. Estevan Tapis⁹

One senses a bit of exasperation in Fr. Tapis' letter, and perhaps lack of cooperation between state and church, when he points out that Benites had departed without his being informed, and of course, the Presidio was "nearby."

Later evidence strongly indicates that Benites did not complete visits to the southern missions but went south only as far as San Luis Obispo. A later tour, to include La Purisima at Lompoc and all of the missions farther south, was to await the arrival of Manuel Quijano.

The position of post surgeon at Monterey was not an attractive one, this being attested to by the short time served by many of the incumbents. There was but little contact with colleagues and no opportunity for study or improvement. In spite of the tendency today to view the period as the golden age of California, there were few people of culture, or even who were literate, in the province.

Benites, like others before him, had been anxious to leave Monterey, and this even though he had been given a substantial increase in salary designed to keep him at his post.¹⁰ He consequently negotiated with Quijano, who was at San Blas, regarding the possibility of an exchange of locations. It is not readily apparent how the negotiations were carried out. Perhaps this was done through intermediaries or by written commu-

nication. It is possible, too, that they met in person in Monterey, a surgeon from the base at San Blas not infrequently accompanied a supply ship. Quijano, for reasons unknown, agreed to the exchange.

An undated communication from Governor José Joaquín de Arrillaga states in part:

I have consented to the exchange requested by Don Jose Maria Benitez, permanent surgeon of New California, with the provisional surgeon of the Naval Base at San Blas, Don Manuel Quijano, with the understanding that the Chief of the base finds it convenient for improved service to health. The aforementioned Benitez must understand this and also be prepared to inform Quijano of it.¹¹

There is very little available information concerning Quijano's earlier life and education or even the date of his birth. Previous writers have uniformly reported him as a native of Spain, and one went further and wrote that he was born in Leon. It has been stated without supporting evidence, that he attended medical school at the University of Madrid and even that he graduated there in 1796.¹²

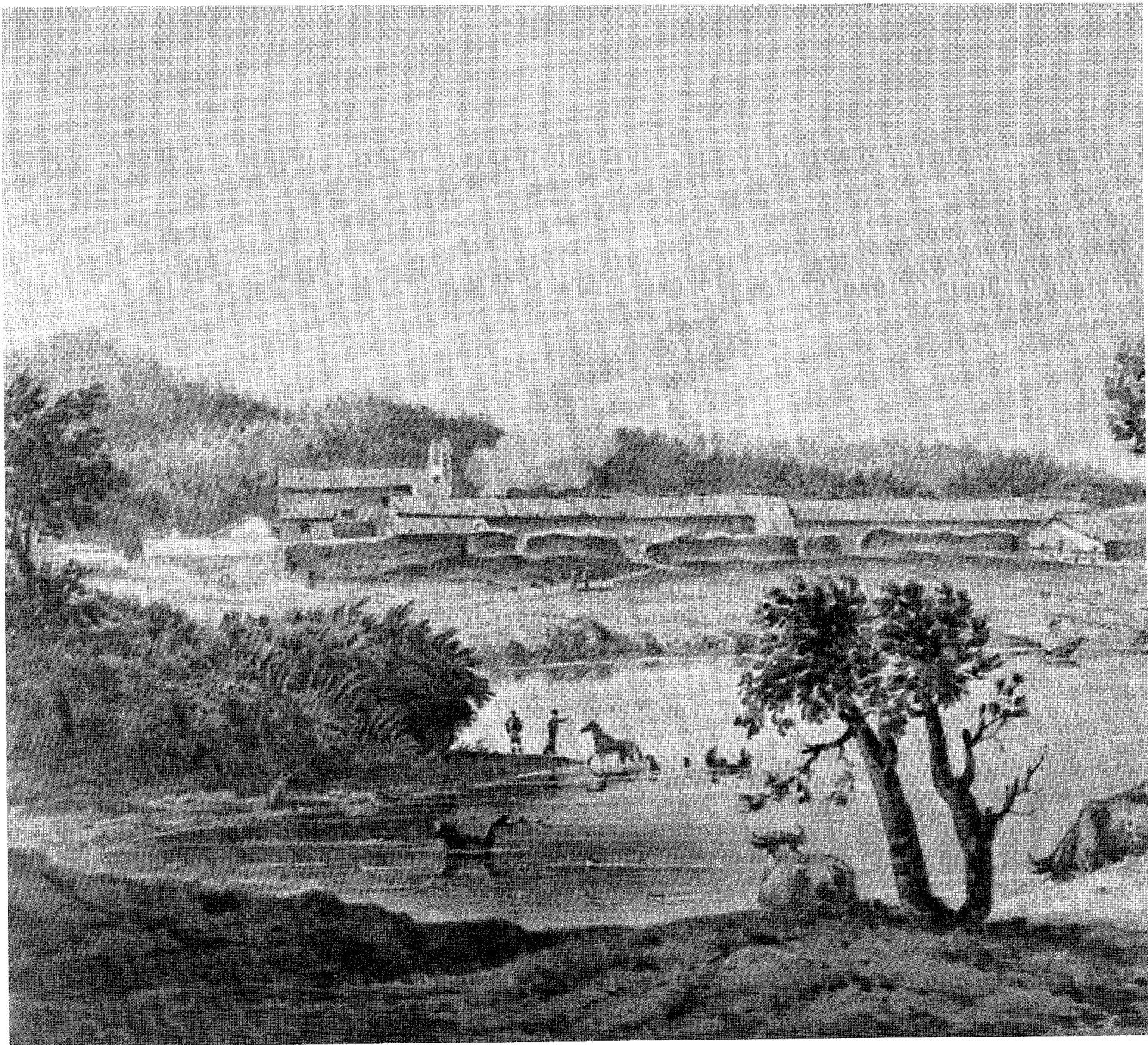
As the story develops we will see he was born in Mexico City and that he received his medical education in Mexico.

Quijano has been referred to as a "Capitan" in the Spanish army and also as an officer in the Spanish navy. The latter, for reasons already noted, seems much more probable. In addition he referred to himself as "Surgeon of the Naval Forces of San Blas."¹³

He was married to a lady with two daughters by a previous marriage, who had the impressive name of María Casilda Ponce de Leon y Davalos.¹⁴ Señora Quijano was born in Tepic, and the adjacency of this community to San Blas suggests a basis for her second marriage.¹⁵

Quijano, his wife and his two stepdaughters embarked at San Blas for Monterey on May 13, 1807.¹⁶ There is no available record of the date of arrival of the ship in Monterey although the voyage often required two months.

Actually the next record concerning Quijano is a letter written by Fr. Tapis and relating to the tour of the missions which was originally to have been undertaken by Benites. This translates as follows:



*May 9, 1808 San Carlos de Monterey
Viva Jesus*

Apostolics and Ministers from the Mision de la Soledad to that of San Diego.

My esteemed Fathers and Sirs

At the disposition of the Lord Governor of the Province the surgeon Don Manuel Quijano goes to carry out the commission which by order of the Most Excellent Lord Viceroy had been entrusted to Don Jose Maria Benites, concerning which I gave notice to Your Reverences in my circular of the 19th of January of 1806. According to what the Lord Governor has informed me, the said Senor Quijano should begin his patient visits and examinations of illnesses from La Purisima and following up to San Diego. On this assumption I charge the Reverend Father Ministers of the two named missions, and of those in between, that they give him whatever aid that their Reverences can, to the end that he be able to complete his commission.

In the same way I request all those missionaries from La Soledad to San Diego, that they aid the named Senor Quijano in all he may need from mission to mission. I am moved to direct to Your Reverences that this request be carried out with promptness, efficiency and charity while he endeavors to assist the Religious and also the neophytes [Indians] in their illnesses.

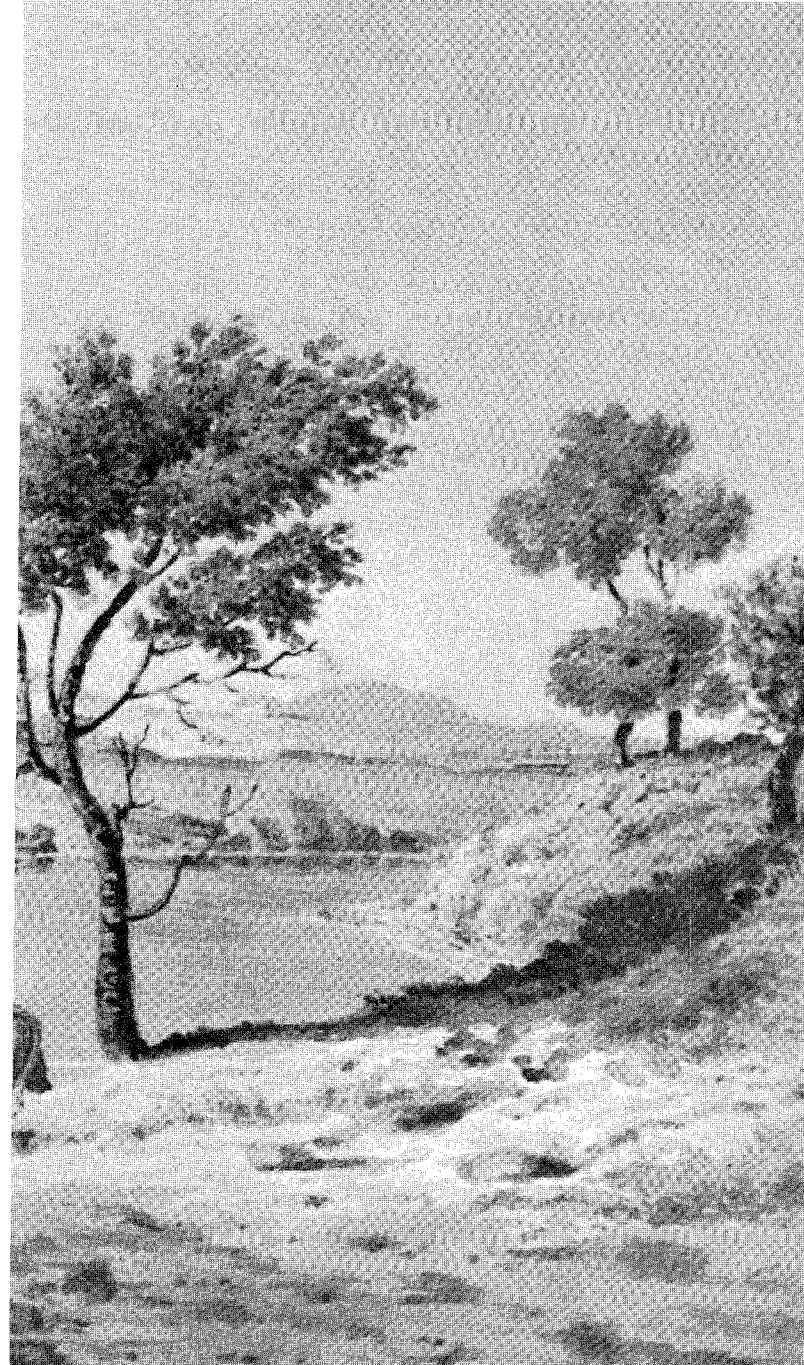
Placing [your signatures] below as having been received, it shall be returned to me from San Diego.

God Our Lord guard your Reverences for many years in His Holy grace.

Mission San Carlos 9th of May, 1808

*I kiss the hands of Your Reverences.
Your affectionate servant and least brother,
Fr. Estevan Tapis.*

The Franciscan fathers in charge at each mission did sign Fr. Tapis' letter and also added the date on which Quijano arrived. The journey involved thirteen missions from Soledad, on May 13, 1808, to San Diego on



William Smyth's 1827 watercolor captures the presidio and near vicinity of Monterey two years after Quijano's death.

Most Excellent Lord

I submit to V. E. [Your Excellency] the attached memorial which was presented to me by the Surgeon of this Presidio, Don Manuel Quijano, with the accompanying certification, V. E. will thus be able to determine whatever would be to your Superior pleasure.

God, our Lord impart life to V. E.

Monterey 27th of July 1808.

J. Arrillaga¹⁸

The accompanying health certificate was signed by Luis Fernandez and Manuel Torres who described themselves as professors and surgeons of the naval base at San Blas. Nothing identifies Fernandez other than his own statement. Torres has been mentioned previously and, at the time of the certificate concerning Quijano's health, was again considering the position at Monterey.

The presence of these two men in Monte Rey (as written in the certificate) again emphasizes the fact that the naval surgeons of San Blas not infrequently accompanied ships and often provided medical services when on shore.

Fernandez and Torres certified that Quijano's problem was one of "an affection of the chest complicated by tuberculosis in the lungs," which incapacitated him from carrying out his duties in a post "which is cold and foggy," and "a warmer and more benign one" was suggested.¹⁹

The health certificate and Governor Arrillaga's letter of transmittal reached the viceroy, but no action was taken. Perhaps collusion and a conflict of interest among the involved physicians was suspected.

Failure on this occasion did not deter Quijano from further attempt to leave Monterey. An undated record refers to a possible "exchange of stations by the Surgeons of the Presidios of Alta and Baja California D. Man Quijano and Don Francisco Araujo."

His last documented effort in seeking transfer is addressed to the viceroy and is undated but most likely was written in 1809. In this instance a different approach is used than that purely of health. The document warrants quoting in its entirety:

Most Excellent Lord

Don Manual Quijano, Professor of Anatomy and Surgery, examined and approved by the Royal Tribunal of the Proto

June 22nd of that year. The longest stay was at Santa Barbara where he arrived on May 30th and remained for one week, reaching San Buenaventura on June 7th, hardly more than one day's travel.¹⁷

Quijano's journey must have indeed been difficult and rigorous. Obviously there were no roads as such and often no dwelling house between missions where one might spend the night. It is improbable that Quijano in his role of naval surgeon was at home in the saddle.

There is no record of his return trip to Monterey, but return he did and completely disillusioned with his post. This journey, and others less lengthy, convinced him that he should not remain in Monterey, and he made a determined effort to be relieved of his assignment. Not long after Quijano returned from the tour of the missions Governor Arrillaga wrote to the viceroy:

Medicato of Mexico, presently stationed at the Royal Presidio of Monterey: With all due attention to the highest respect to V. E. states that not being able to point to his condition of health as proof, as the certificate evidently refutes, that it is his temperament which he supposes to be by nature weak which he believes causes him to be incapable of carrying out those charges relating to his work, since he has to visit annually all the Province, the Presidios as well as the missions, work which truly requires a sufficiently robust health. In this supposition and remembering the well-known kindness of V. E. which I know to be so abundant, that V. E. be disposed to grant that I be relieved from the aforementioned post so that Don Manuel Torres Tunon who is of my same class may be voluntarily posted from where he is now serving at the Naval Base at San Blas, and I can continue with merit at the former post which I had with the ships of San Blas.²⁰

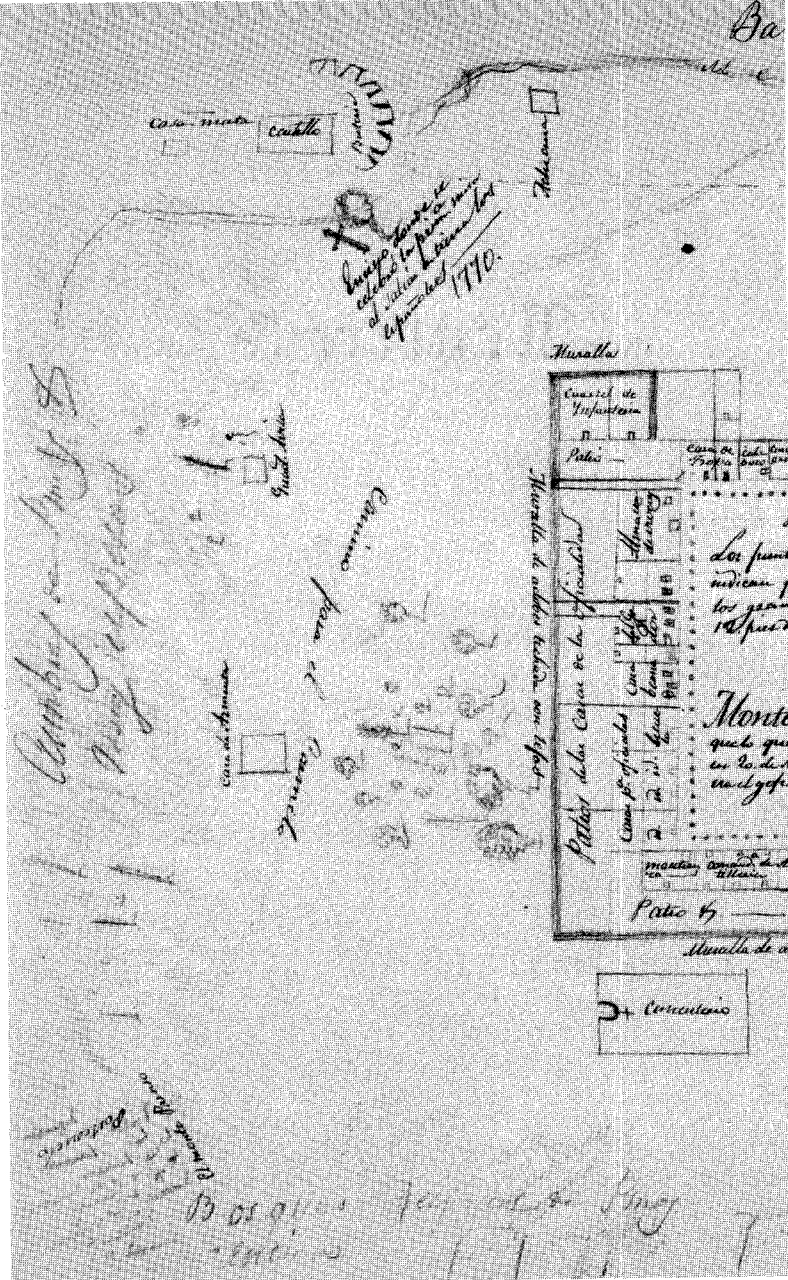
Even Quijano's flattery was unavailing, and he remained at Monterey, apparently resigned to his situation and learning to adapt.

His reference to his professional level in the letter to the viceroy is of interest. One may discount the Professor of Anatomy and Surgery, as it is highly improbable that he had actually taught these subjects. Professor was a status symbol and in most societies of the time of more import than the title doctor. Recall that Fernandez and Torres referred to themselves as professors.

Quijano's statement that he had been examined and approved by the Royal Tribunal of the Proto Medicato of Mexico is an entirely different matter. The Proto-medicato were the royal physicians who, amongst other duties, examined aspiring physicians much in the fashion of our state and national licensing boards today.

It is unlikely that Quijano would make this statement if it were not true, and it strongly emphasizes the probability that whatever medical education he had was obtained in Mexico. The Royal Physicians in Spain would have been responsible for his examination and approval had he been educated there.

Quijano's early years in Monterey were marked by another and equally unsuccessful problem with the bureaucracy of New Spain. The matter was initiated by a letter to the viceroy written on April 25, 1809 and was continued by a variety of governmental deliberations, communications and avoid-



ances of responsibility for over seven years. The letter to the viceroy reads:

Don Manuel Quijano, Physician Surgeon of the Royal Presidio of Monterey, with all the appropriate and highest respect due to V. E. states: That having passed from the Department of San Blas to this post by an exchange which he made with one of his same class Don Jose Maria Benites, the allowances have not been paid which corresponded to his wife and two daughters from the 13th day of May 1807 when they embarked for this post, therefore he beseeches the High Superiority of V. E. that he command that the said allowances be paid to me. Thus I wait to receive it from the kind and loving heart of V. E.

Manuel Quijano

The letter was accompanied by a note of transmittal from Governor Arillaga dated April 27th. This, in turn, was marked as received and the information given to the Royal Tribunal of Accounting in Mexico City on July 13, 1809. The time from writing to receipt was really quite commendable. Approximately two and one-half



A map of the Monterey presidio, depicting the establishment in 1820, found in the papers of Edward Vischer.

that Alta California was a continuation of the peninsula of Baja California. Conceivably the appellation was used at the time for both Californias. More probably the viceroy misspoke.

Ferdinand VII succeeded to the Spanish throne on March 17, 1808, following the forced abdication of his father Charles IV. Shortly thereafter Ferdinand was taken prisoner by Napoleon and was not released until 1814. News of the King's imprisonment reached Monterey in due course, and an appropriate ceremony was performed on August 10, 1809.

1809 August 10, Monterey

Jose Mariano Estrada, Alferes of the Company of Monterey

I certify that on this day at 5 o'clock in the afternoon in the hall of this mission, there being present the Rev. Father President of the missions Fr. Estevan Tapis, the illustrious R. Rev. Fathers Fr. Juan Amoros and Fr. Vicente Sarria, the Surgeon of the Royal Navy, Don Manl. Quixano, and the cadet Don Jose Raymundo Estrada, the Lord Governor of this Province Lt. Colonel Don Jose Joaquin de Arillaga, with one hand on the Holy Gospels and the other on the cross of his sword, kneeling on his knees before a crucifix, made his oath of allegiance in the following terms.

"I swear before the crucified Lord, touching these Holy Gospels, and the Cross of my sword, to obey our King and natural Lord Don Fernando VII, and to defend all the rights of his dynasty and this kingdom of the Indies which are his; and in like manner I will obey, comply with, and execute the orders of the Supreme Governing Council, as depository of the rights of our August Sovereign, obliging myself to shed up to the last drop of my blood in the defense and preservation of these dominions. And to bear witness wherever necessary. I affirm with this signature all of the above cited testimony."²³

The basically religious nature of the oath-taking is evident in that the ceremony was performed in the mission rather than in the less stately and significant presidio chapel. All three San Carlos priests served as witnesses, including, as noted, Fr. Estevan Tapis, the President of the Missions. The other witnesses were of local distinction. José Mariano Estrada was Alferes (Lieutenant or Ensign) and ranking officer of the Monterey Company. His brother, José Raymundo Estrada, was a cadet in that company, and Manuel Quijano, in spite of his problems, remained a citizen of distinction

months was all that elapsed from Monterey to San Blas to Mexico City, and this presuming the letter left Monterey on the date signed and was not delayed at San Blas.²¹

Ultimately, on November 6, 1816, the viceroy refused Quijano's request, stating:

In today's decree, in conformance with the Lord Fiscal of the Royal Treasury I have refused the request which was submitted in the year 1809 by the surgeon of the contingent of that Presidio Don Manuel Quijano claiming a debt for the Naval Allowances corresponding to his wife and two daughters for the time spent on board while being transported from San Blas to the Peninsula due to the fact that the trip was beneficial to him in order to accomplish the exchange that this Quijano arranged with the surgeon Don Jose Maria Benites.²²

On the same date a communication was sent to Governor Arrillaga stating that he was empowered to deny the application of Manuel Quijano for reimbursement.

One may note the viceroy's reference to Alta California as a peninsula. Certainly it was no longer believed

Another watercolor by William Smyth depicting Monterey in 1827.

and education.

A fascinating record of one of Quijano's medical functions is also a commentary on the pharmacy of the period. It is dated February 22, 1810 and is signed at Monterey by Manuel Quijano and countersigned by Governor Arillaga, each signature with its individual identifying rubric. The document is headed: "Report of the medicines requested from Mexico by the Surgeon of the Company of the Presidio of Monterey Don Manuel Quixano submitted by the Lord Governor of the Province, Don Jose Joaquin de Arrillaga for the year 1811."²⁴ Appended is a list of eleven pharmaceutical items relating to the therapy of the time. A number of these can be identified and their use speculated upon.

One item is a theriaca. These preparations, usually made up of many different ingredients, were used as antidotes for poisoning, actual or suspected.

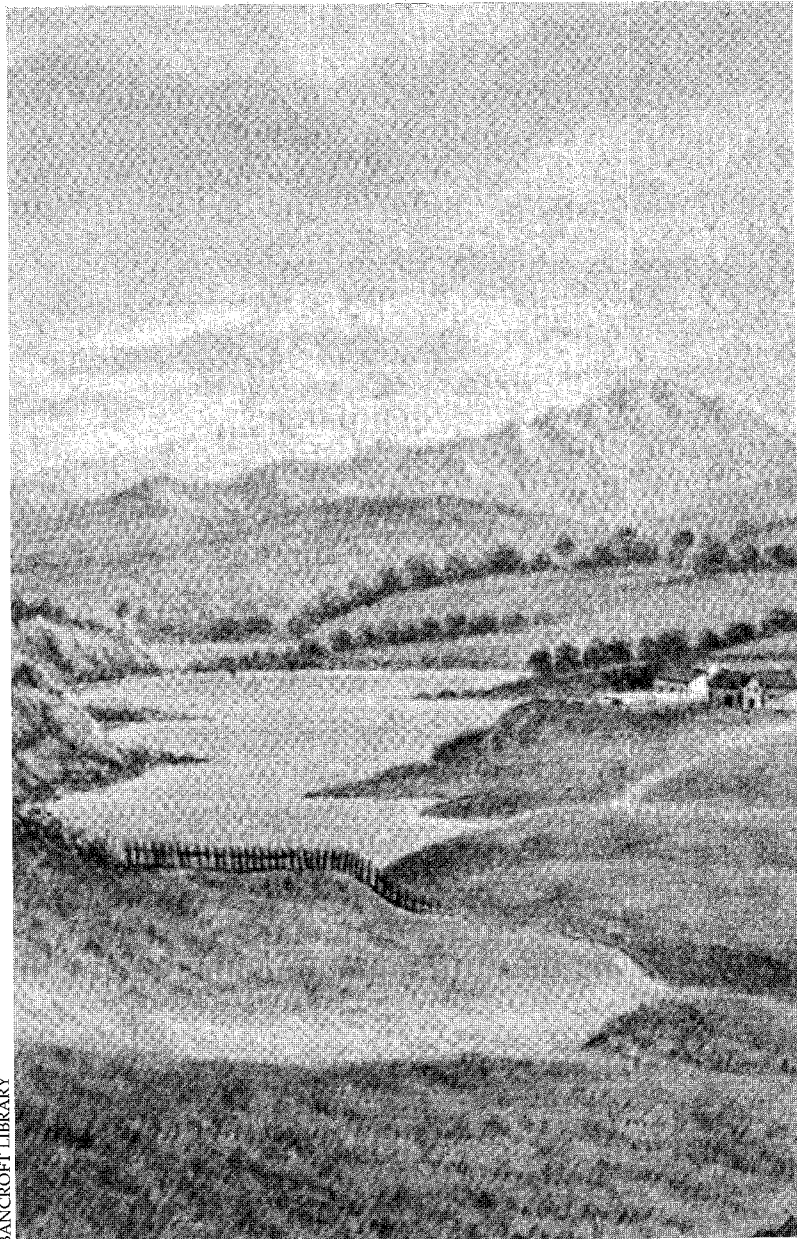
A medicine of particular interest is "Laudanum Liquido de Sydenham." This translates as Sydenham's laudanum. Laudanum is tincture of opium and was a standard preparation often compounded with one or more additives, in this case saffron, hardly in itself of any therapeutic value. Thomas Sydenham (1624-1689) was a famous physician often referred to as the English Hippocrates.

No doubt Quijano used laudanum as an analgesic, but it is probable that he employed it chiefly in dysentery. This affliction, as reported by Benites, abounded in California.

One item listed translates as carminative spirits. A carminative is an agent or mixture which relieves flatulence or colic. This would have been very helpful considering the dietary of the Californians. Alcohol as a vehicle likely added to the efficacy in the same fashion that it does as the only active ingredient in a number of modern patent medicines.

"Espiritus de Sal Ammoniaco" is on the list. This translates simply as smelling salts. It is possible there were ladies with "the vapors" in California but more probable that Quijano used the spirits of ammonia in cases of concussion or in aiding recovery from repair of injury or other preanaesthetic surgery.

Two ointments are listed. Neither is presently identifiable. Then, as now, these items were used for burns,

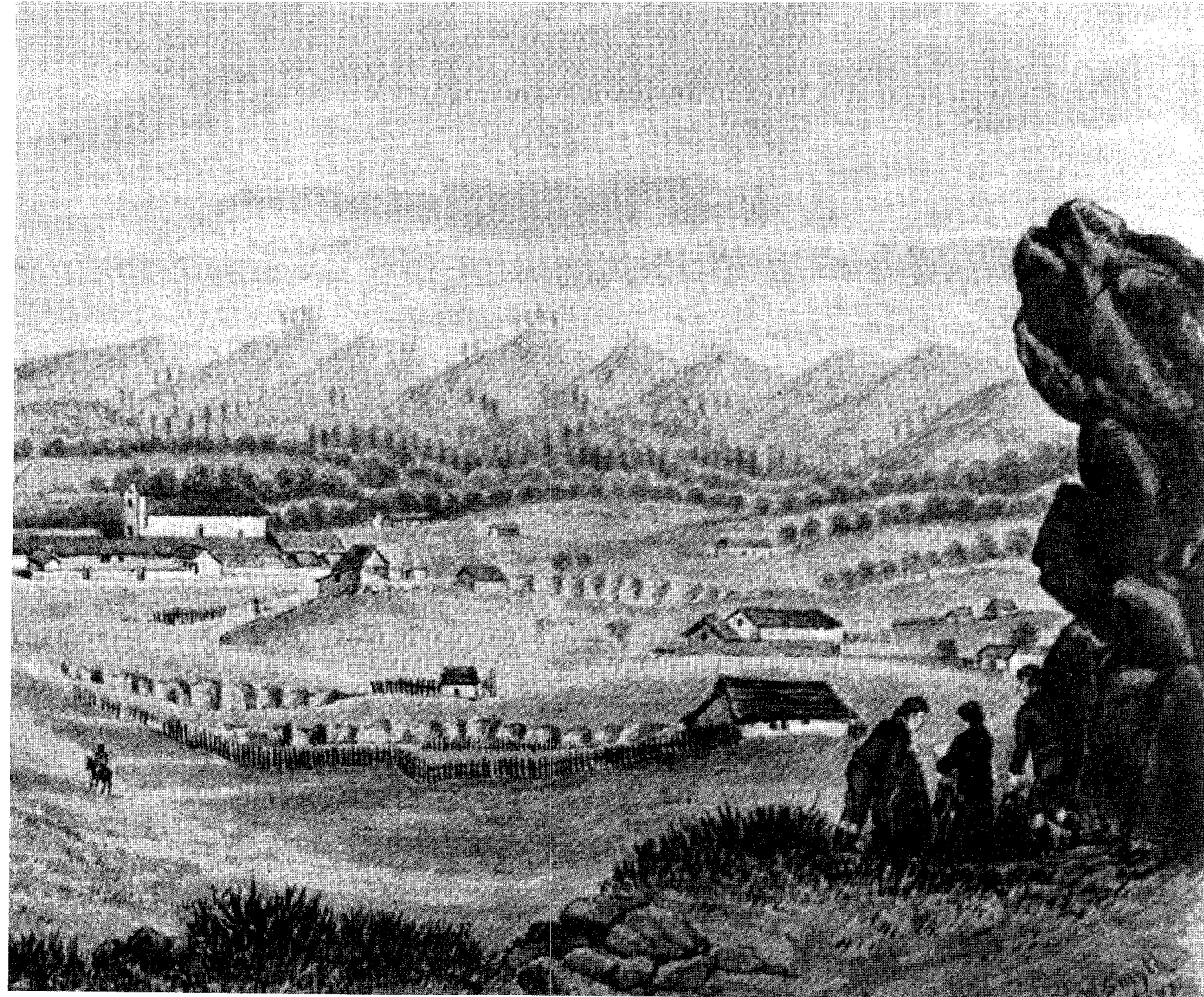


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skin afflictions and wound dressings. There is also a request for a "Bolsama" (balsam) which cannot be more specifically identified. Balsams were used in dressing indolent wounds and ulcers and occasionally were taken internally in bronchial problems.

Maria Antonia Field (1885-1962) was the great granddaughter of Catalina de Munras, one of Quijano's stepdaughters. Lady Field (she received the Order of Isabella Catolica from the Spanish Crown) states that Manuel Quijano and his wife had two legitimate daughters who died in a diphtheria epidemic in 1812.²⁵ In contradiction Lady Field gave the date of these little girls' deaths as November 13, 1810 on a marker which she had placed in the floor of the Presidio Chapel in Monterey. This memorial lists the children's names as María Rosalia and María Teresa.

The present investigation finds a burial service for only one little girl, and this conducted for Rosalia María Juquina Quijano by Fr. José Sanchez on November 14, 1810. She is described as the legitimate offspring of Don Manuel Quijano, surgeon of the Presidio and native of



Mexico and Doña María Ponce de Leon native of the pueblo of Tepic.²⁶

Rosalía María was little more than a baby and was not yet born when the family came to Monterey. How Quijano and his wife must have mourned.

And if this were not enough grief for Quijano, his wife died a few years after the loss of their little girl. There is only limited information of any kind pertaining to Doña Quijano and none whatever relating to the cause of her death. Burial record 2082 for the year 1814, signed by Fr. Vicente Oliva February 21, details only the services for Doña María Ponce de Leon. She is described as an adult female born in Tepic, New Spain and married to Don Manuel Quijano, surgeon of the Presidio and native of the City of Mexico.²⁷ Her death was not sudden inasmuch as she had received the Holy Sacraments of Penance and of Extreme Unction and also had been given Communion.

Quijano's unhappiness was certainly not lessened by the death of Governor Arrillaga on July 24, 1814. The governor, sixty-four years of age, had been on a tour of inspection and died at Soledad, the first mission

south of San Carlos. The cause of the governor's death was an "intestinal hemorrhage."²⁸ One should first consider carcinoma of the colon as the cause and particularly so in Arrillaga's age group. Quijano served as an executor of Arrillaga's estate.

One of the most sensational events in Alta California was the murder of Fray Andrés Quintana. Much has been written concerning it as well as Manuel Quijano's involvement in the solution, or lack of solution, of the mystery. Unfortunately almost all available information is second or third hand and based on hearsay or surmise. In addition much of the purported facts are slanted by the feelings of the writer. One might even say there is some suggestion of coverup. Certainly there is evidence of the usual bureaucratic fumbling.

Basically the story is this. Fr. Andrés Quintana served at Mission Santa Cruz north of Monterey, and was recovering from illness when, on the morning of October 12, 1812, he was found dead in bed. Death appeared to be from natural causes, foul play was not suspected,

A view of the port of Monterey adapted from a Smyth watercolor by engraver Charles Ransonnette for Eugene Duflot de Mofras' Exploration due territoire de l'Oregon, des Californies . . . (Paris, 1844).

and the body was interred. Suspicions were aroused later (likely a matter of days, although one account states two years) and it was arranged for Manuel Quijano to examine the body.

This Quijano did, and he is consequently credited with performing the first autopsy in California. This "autopsy" likely consisted only of an inspection of the body which, with Quijano's background, was probably quite thorough. There is no written report of his findings. At least one account states that he confirmed the death as natural, and that the true cause was not determined until much later.

It does seem to be established that Fr. Quintana was tortured *in pudendis* (involving the genitalia). It is unbelievable that Quijano's examination of the body would not have disclosed this.

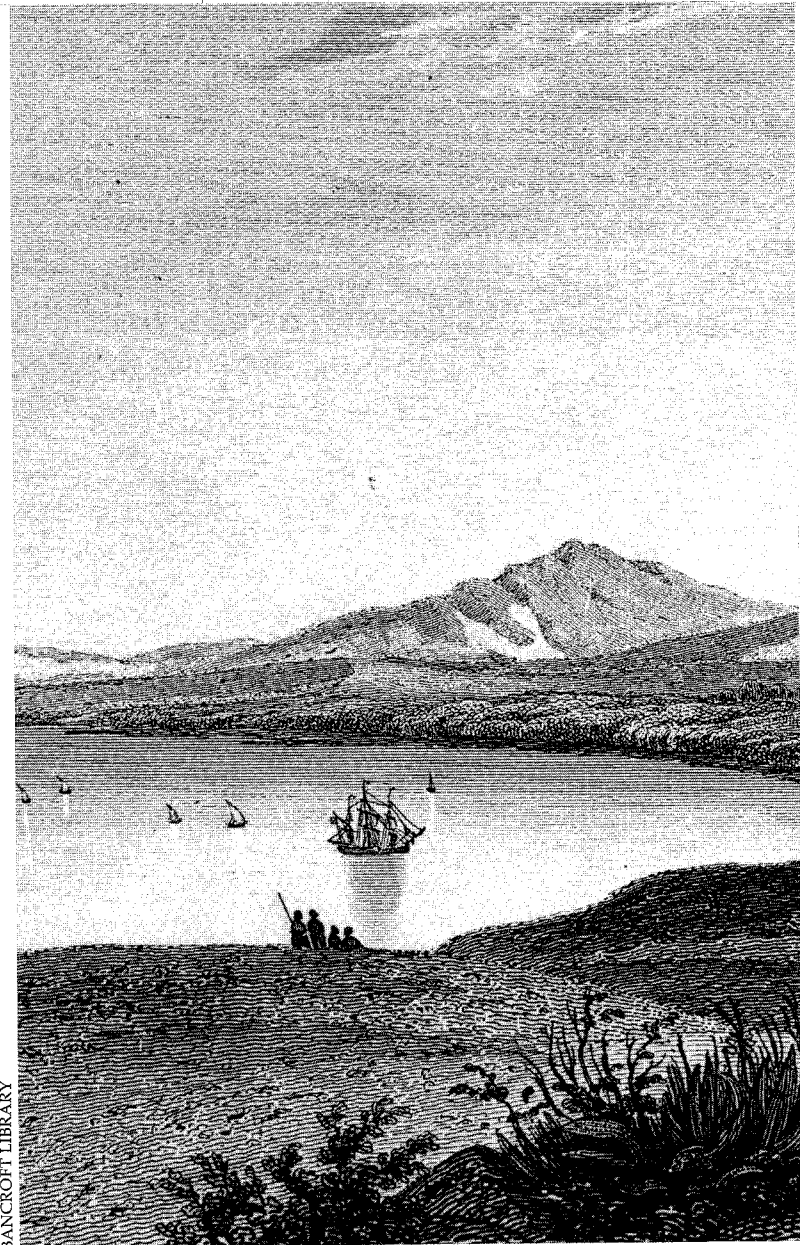
It is also improbable that the trauma to the genitals was the immediate cause of death. Hemorrhage, if fatal, would have been massive and immediately discernible. Conceivably shock could have killed, but this is unlikely in a robust male of Quintana's age. An able Franciscan historian reported an earlier statement that the priest was suffocated as well as tortured.²⁹

It may be that the nature of the torture weighed against documentation at the time, and it is possible, too, that it did not seem wise to publicize an assault by Indians on a missionary.

It was said to be determined that an Indian or Indians had lured Quintana from the mission on the premise of attending a dying neophyte. The reason later suggested for the murder was the priest had been brutal in punishing Indians, and one writer even suggested that Quintana had had carnal relations with the wife of one of the Indians who tortured him.

Several Indians (how many is not certain) were subsequently jailed. The matter was referred to the viceroy for determination. Some Indians died in prison during the two-year period in which they awaited sentence. It is improbable that any of the others survived "two hundred lashes each and then working in chains for from two to ten years."³⁰

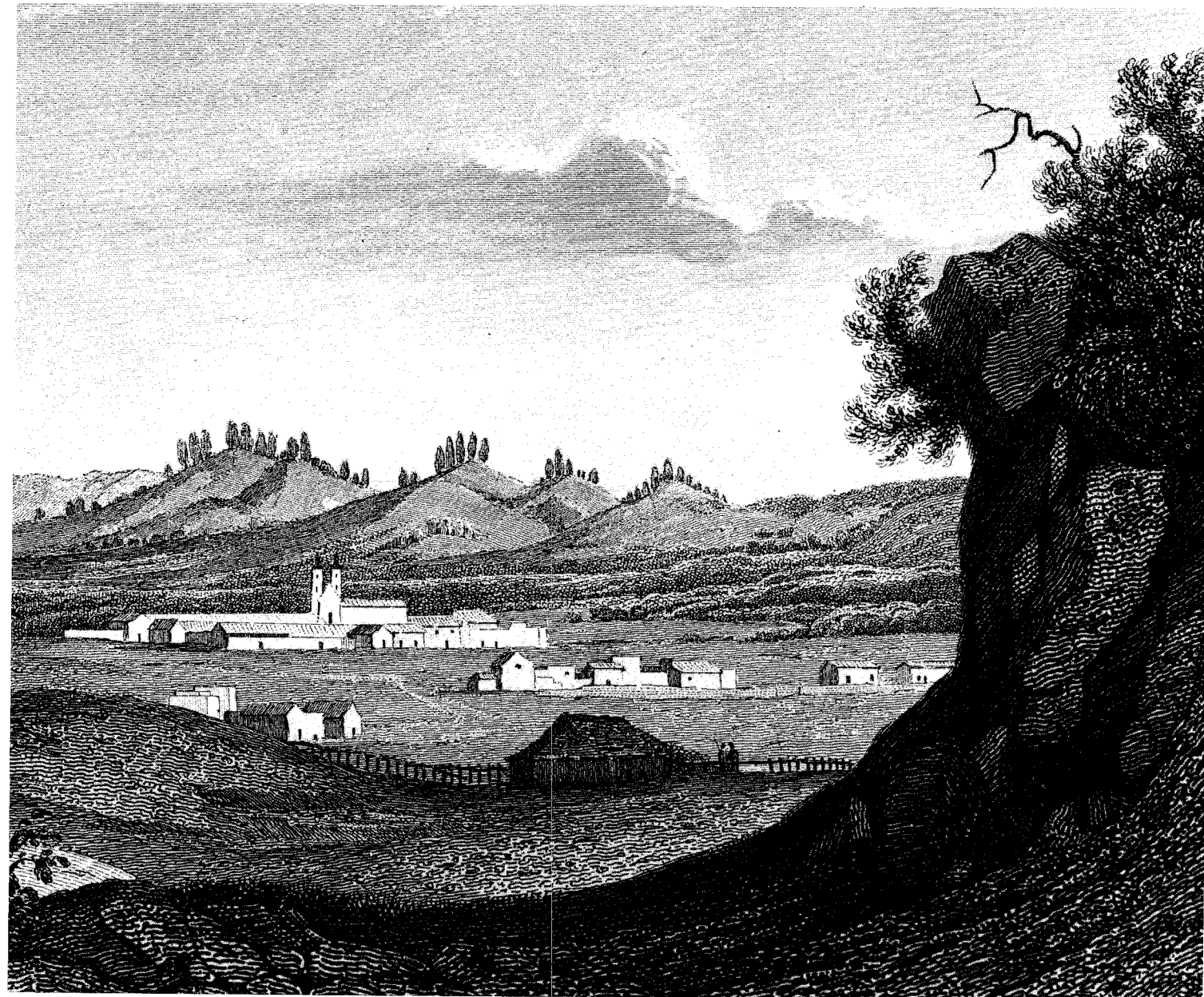
Nothing more is evident suggesting Quijano's dissatisfaction with his post or his desire to leave it, and there is ample evidence that his work was as arduous and required as much traveling



as it ever had. Thirteen records relating to him are on file in a major historical depository in California.³¹ These are letters from missionaries, usually to the governor, requesting the help of Don Manuel, commenting on his visit, or expressing thanks for his services. The communications extend over the period of 1811 to 1821. The missions involved are Santa Cruz, Soledad, San Miguel, San Juan Bautista, Purisima, Santa Barbara, San Buenaventura and San Fernando. One should bear in mind, too, that there assuredly were many other visits which are not documented or for which the records have been lost.

Several of the letters contain information of interest other than that relating to the surgeon. On March 25, 1811, the governor was importuned to send Don Manuel Quijano and to do so as quickly as possible. A postscript added, "If the Surgeon cannot come, at least let it be the Master Castillo."

José Castillo was a phlebotomist or bleeder who had come to the Monterey garrison in that capacity in 1792 and who remained at his post for thirty-six years.³² Drawing blood from a patient had been a standard



form of therapy, and one often abused, since antiquity. Fortunately, by the early nineteenth century it was being discarded in more cosmopolitan medical areas, but it continued to be very popular and widely used in early California. No doubt, too, Castillo had developed some of the other skills of a healer and did not employ venesection entirely.

Quijano was becoming appreciated and well liked. On July 31, 1815, Fray Antonio Jayme at Mission Soledad referred to him as "my well-loved savant and friend."

Fray Vicente Francisco de Sarria was commissary prefect of the missions, a position of import, and was on a canonical visit when he wrote Governor Pablo Vicente de Sola from Mission San Miguel on September 25, 1816. Sarria noted that he had received a letter from the governor from the "Señor Facultative Physician Don Manuel Quijano," who had left that morning on his way to Purisima and San Buenaventura. Sarria's letter to the governor also delicately brought up the age-old problem of single men in barracks. He stated that Luís Martínez (at Mission San Luis Obispo) wishes him to plead with Your Mercy (the governor) to order that

some of the soldiers of Martínez escort be transferred because it appears that it is "entirely composed of old bachelors with all of the problems inherent in that situation."

On November 9, 1816, Fr. José Señan wrote Governor Sola from Mission Buenaventura, "Don Manuel is deserving all my gratitude because with all good will he persisted in the re-establishment of my health. May God repay him and also my Lord Governor."

Fray Francisco Jayme wrote the governor from Soledad on May 23, 1817. The unhappy letter depicts not only his need for Quijano but his own pursuit of his duties regardless of extreme handicap:

My beloved Master, the pain still follows me, God's will be done, I now write to Don Manuel of the state of health in which I find myself, and on Saturday I will send a vaquero with horses so he will come here if he can with your permission to see if he can heal me, for I am unable to walk. My heart goes out to those who are also sick since night before last they had to carry me to confess and anoint a woman who had just given birth to a child and who died.



Fray Jayme improved promptly under Quijano's ministrations. He again wrote the governor on May 31st:

Don Manuel has purged me so well that I have improved quite a bit, such that yesterday I was able to recite Mass since it had been 29 days that I was not able to say it. For this reason Don Manuel did not depart yesterday in order to see me recite Mass for which I gave a thousand million thanks in the Majorcan manner.

Vaccination against smallpox was in worldwide use within a few years following publication of Edward Jenner's milestone in 1798. The first vaccination in California is reported to have been in 1817 when some lymph (vaccine) was brought to Monterey by José Verdía.³³ Quijano is said to have assisted him in the vaccination of a large number of persons including the entire Vallejo family.³⁴ This earliest use of vaccine in California, and Quijano's participation, is not corroborated elsewhere.

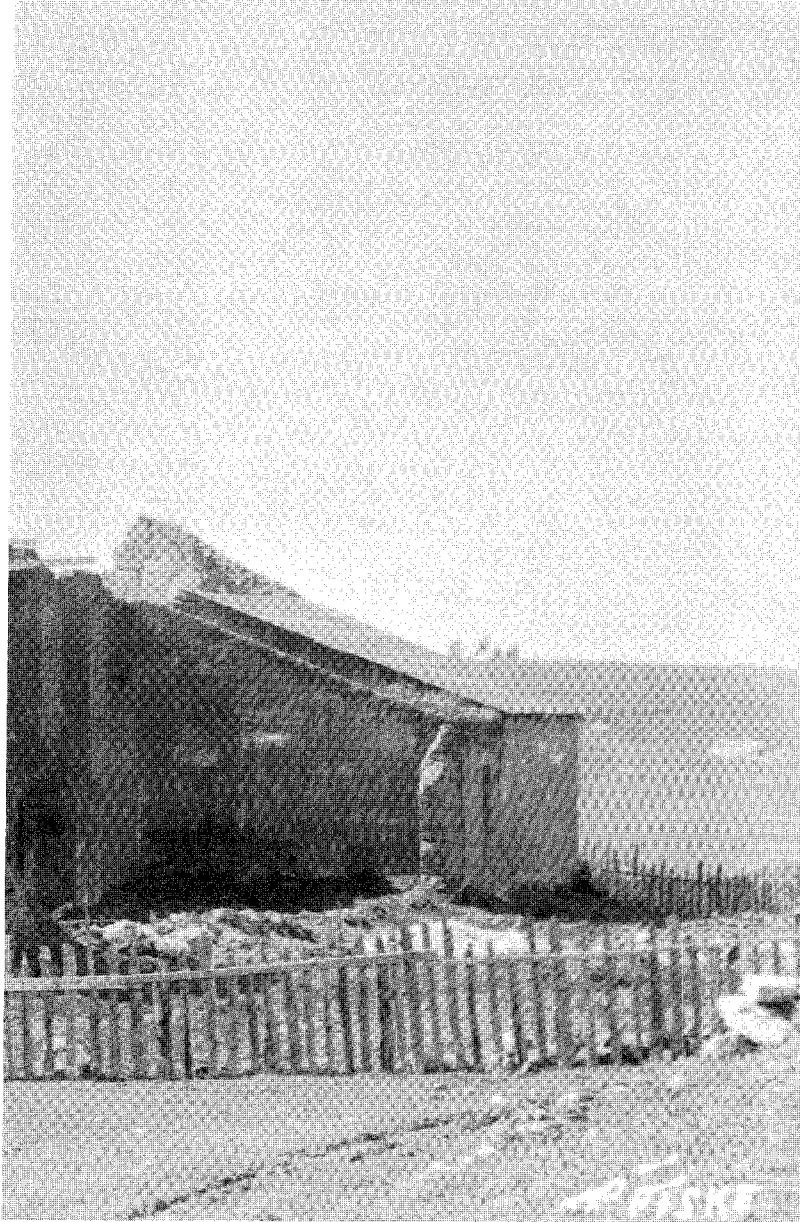
Two earlier writers, without any apparent foundation, state that Quijano died in 1825.³⁵ This was ques-

tioned later.³⁶ It has now been confirmed that he died in 1823.

One can easily speculate on the nature of the pathological process which led to his death. Certainly it was not an acute one in that he dictated a sort of last will on July 29, 1823 and did not expire until August 16th. Perhaps he really had chronic pulmonary disease as had been attested to by Fernandez and Torres. More probably he suffered from the degenerative diseases of an aging man who had lived a rigorous life at a time of lesser life expectancy.

His condition is made quite evident in the last sentence of the document of July 29, 1823. "And this being my wish, not being able to write down my signature and rubric due to the present indisposition in which I find myself, I make the Holy Cross." Much of the writing is difficult to read and interpret, possibly relating in part to the ability of the scribe, but more likely to Quijano's state of health.

The opening sentence emphasizes that his military affiliation was with the navy: "In the room of my habitation on the 29th of July of 1823, I, Don Manuel de



Mission San Carlos Borromeo, better known as Mission Carmel, captured in its decaying state (date unknown; c.1880s?) by photographer George Fiske.

who was at the said Presidio 18 or 19 years. I administered the Holy Sacraments of Penitence, Eucharist and Extreme Unction. He had died on the previous day. And as witness I affirm.

Fr. Vicente Francisco Sarria³⁸

Quijano's stepdaughter Catalina Manzaneli married Estevan Munras, who became a man of import and substance in Monterey. Lady Field, mentioned previously, was their great granddaughter.

Two letters, written in 1849 and 1850, signed by Enrique C. Virmond, an attorney in Mexico City, addressed to Don Estevan Munras, show that, at that late date, the family was still attempting to recover money owed Quijano by the Mexican government. A third letter, dated July 27, 1853, was signed by the attorney's widow. Evidently, too, Munras had died in the interim because this letter is addressed to María Antonia Manzaneli and Catalina Manzaneli de Munras. Presumably María Antonia had never married.

The correspondence shows that the amount claimed by the heirs was 5,756.61 pesos. Available records do not suggest that this was paid.³⁹ CHS

Quijano, Surgeon of the Naval Forces of San Blas . . ."

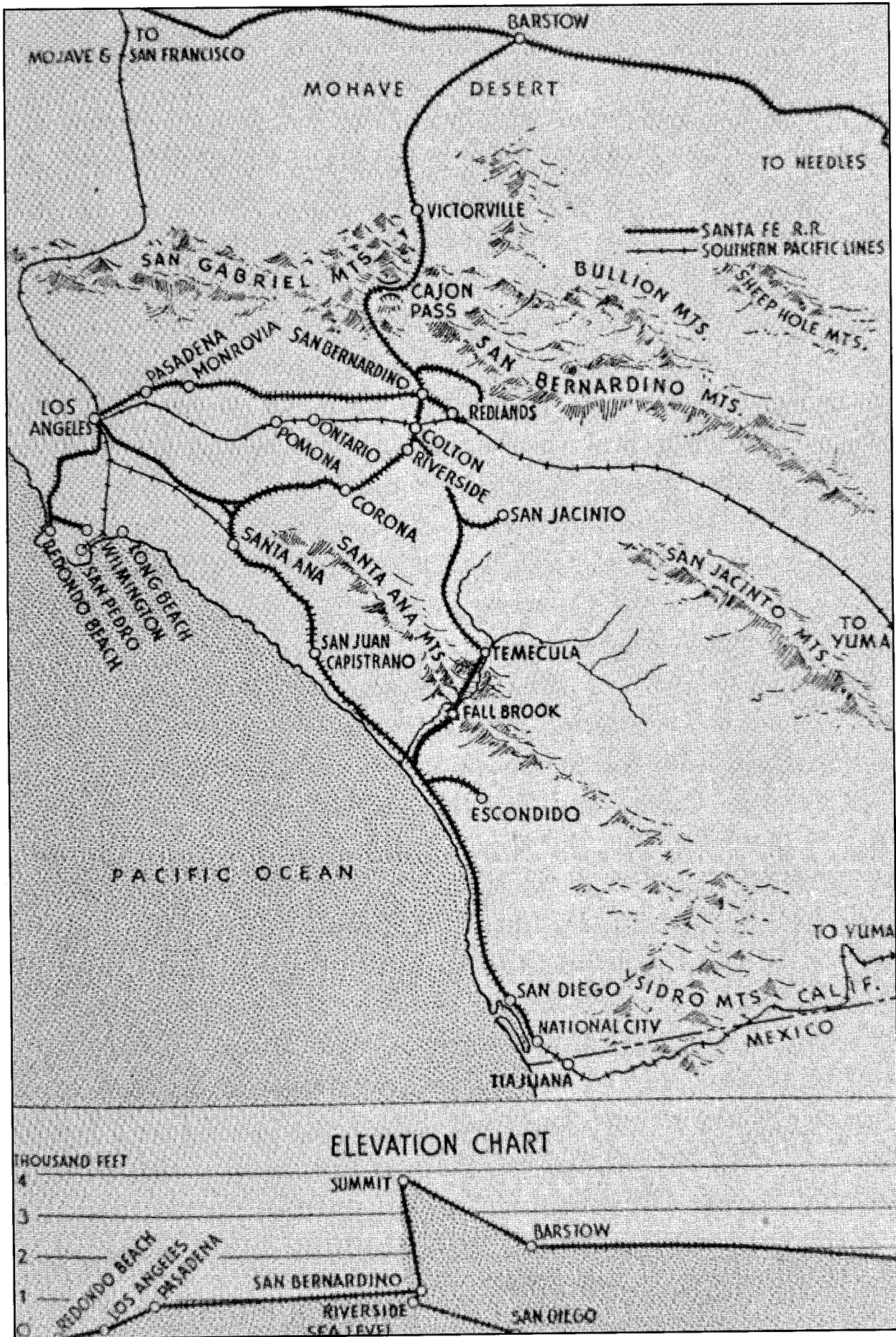
The body of the document confirms the fact that his interests now lie fully with Monterey and Alta California. Two items of fifty pesos each "out of the best of my goods" were to be paid to the Rev. Fr. Vicente Francisco Sarria "in order that they be invested in that which I have communicated to him." Quijano also requested that a sort of trust fund be set up: "Also when it shall come to pass that the claim of what is owed me from the King or the Nation is received I wish that 600 pesos in goods for the benefit of the Company and Presidio of Monterey be distributed under the mediation or direction of the Chaplain."³⁷

The debt of the King or the Nation refers to back pay from Spain or from newly independent Mexico and not to the long forgotten compensation for the travel of his wife and stepdaughters.

Burial record 2460 is captioned Don Manuel Quijano, adult of the Presidio.

The 17th of August of 1823 in the Cemetery of the Chapel of the Presidio of Monterey, I gave Ecclesiastic Burial to the body of Don Manuel Quixano, native of Mexico, Surgeon

Dr. Doyce B. Nunis Jr., professor of history in the University of Southern California, Zamoranan and longtime friend, has again served as preceptor and helpful critic. Dr. Nunis also suggested communication with Dr. Mathes. Dr. W. Michael Mathes, professor of history in the University of San Francisco, and an authority on California history, was most considerate and helpful, not only in suggesting possible sources of information but in discounting certain others. Mr. Richard Joseph Menn, curator of the Mission San Carlos Borromeo del rio Carmelo took time out from a busy day to acquaint me with the mission archives and to provide certain duplicates. I am also indebted to him for my first visit to the Presidio Chapel and for a transcription of the memorial plaque in the floor of the church. The remarkable facilities of the Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library provided the numerous letters relating to Quijano's visits. Here again Doyce Nunis, president of the Board of Trustees of that library, was of assistance. The Pastoral Office of the Diocese of Monterey was exceedingly kind in providing burial and marriage records. Mr. James J. Ochoa, of the Los Angeles County Medical Association Library, translated most of the source documents which, in many instances, were almost illegible. Lastly, it should be noted that this essay was published in a limited edition of 250 copies as a keepsake for the 1984 joint meeting with the Roxburghe-Zamorano Clubs. It is reprinted herein with the permission of the author. See notes beginning on page 145.



OUTMANEUVERING THE OCTOPUS

ATCHISON

TOPEKA

AND

SANTA FE

Edward L. Lyman



IN NOVEMBER 1885, without much national attention, the first transcontinental railroad not controlled in California by Leland Stanford, Collis P. Huntington and their corporate associates was completed. This momentous event ushered in a passenger rate war that contributed significantly to the influx of population into Southern California and an economic boom which did much to establish the region as permanently important. Breaking the monopoly was no easy feat because Central-Southern Pacific Railroad had demonstrated firm determination to preclude any competition.

The struggle for a competing railroad to the Pacific Coast took place

on several fronts. The congressional committee rooms of Washington, D.C., were an important arena. Even before their transcontinental railroad was completed in 1869, Huntington exhibited amazing foresight and resourcefulness by securing a congressional stipulation that the potential rival Atlantic and Pacific line be forced into an alliance through linking at the California border with the Southern Pacific, thus insuring continued control within the state. The financial centers of the East would later prove to be an equally important battleground. But the Southern California area where the competition would either be stimulated or stifled was just as crucial a scene of action.

One of the first real threats to the Stanford-Huntington empire was the Los Angeles and Independence (California) Railroad—owned by Nevada mining magnate and U.S. Senator John P. Jones. His plan was to build a rail line from Santa Monica

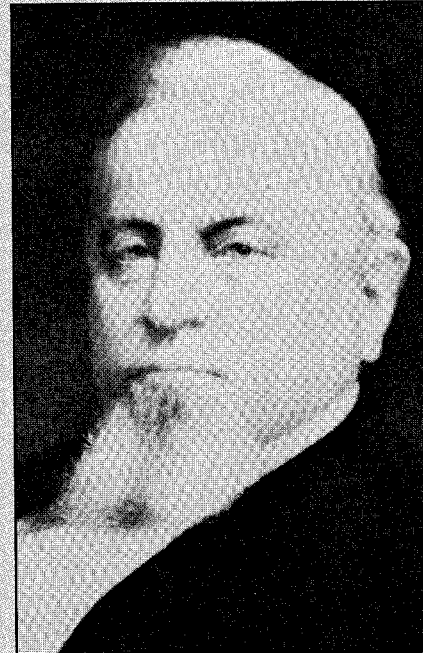
through Cajon Pass to the Jones-dominated Panamint mining camps, with the possibility of connecting with the Jay Gould-controlled Utah Southern at Milford, Utah, and thus Union Pacific Railroad's transcontinental outlets. In the early 1870s the Jones project began tunneling through the "hogback" ridge at the top of Cajon Pass, which earlier government surveys had reported to be the only possible way to utilize this geographic gateway to Southern California. At one point the Los Angeles and Independence construction crews faced the prospect of confrontation with Southern Pacific employees for possession of several crucial points in the pass, but being better prepared, the former forced the latter to withdraw. However, with the subsequent collapse of the Comstock financial structure in 1876, Jones was temporarily ruined. He had no alternative but to sell at a loss to Huntington, who thereby gained control of Cajon Pass.¹ Huntington and his

Map of southern California rival railroad systems during the years under discussion. From James Marshall, Santa Fe: The Railroad that Built an Empire (New York: Random House, 1945, p. 185).

Charles Crocker, Huntington's partner, whose lack of foresight may have been the key factor in failure to block the approach of the rival railroad line.

(Right) William Barstow Strong, tenth president of Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, whose persistence was an important factor in breaking the railroad monopoly in California.

(Far right) Collis P. Huntington, the last active member of the "big four" builders of the Central-Southern Pacific Railroad system, who maintained almost total control of overland transportation into California from 1869 to 1884.



CHSTICOR COLLECTION

colleagues thus triumphed, at least for the time being.

The railroad which would ultimately break the Southern Pacific monopoly was the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company, founded in 1859. In the late 1870s under Thomas Nickerson and the early 1880s under William Barstow Strong, corporate leadership took the view that expansion was the only real means of countering the prevailing competition as other railroads threatened to move in on their Kansas domain. They gradually raised their corporate horizons from operating a regional, midwestern railway into building their own transcontinental line. The Santa Fe's impressive early financial record enabled it to successfully raise the necessary capital through stock and bond sales for the extensive con-

struction, primarily through the Boston firm of Kidder, Peabody and Company.

The main avenue for Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe's western expansion was through partial control of the land-grant-rich Atlantic and Pacific Railroad, which had succumbed to the widespread financial depression of the early 1870s. The Atlantic and Pacific had been partly revived through control by the St. Louis and San Francisco Railway Company, which was also ambitious to reach the Pacific Coast. In 1879 the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe acquired half interest in the Atlantic and Pacific line, aiming to use its right of way to reach California. The three allied companies subsequently commenced railway construction through New Mexico and Arizona.²

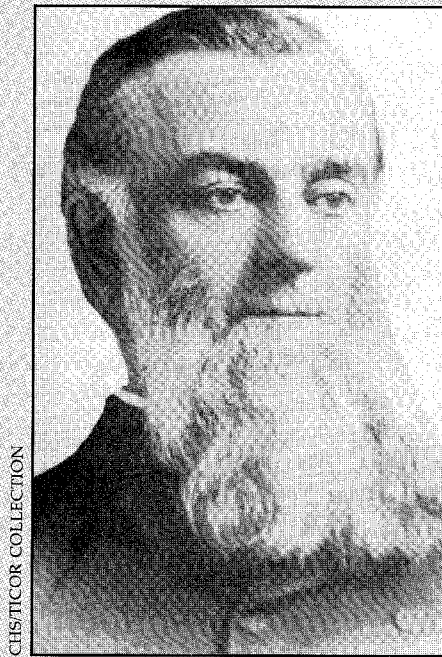
However, in 1881 Collis P. Huntington and his like-minded fellow railroad entrepreneur, Jay Gould, acquired sufficient stock in the St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad to block expansion that might endanger their other respective inter-

ests. Controlling an equal number of votes as the Santa Fe, they took seats on the Atlantic and Pacific Board of Directors expressly for the purpose of "shaping its policy and limits of construction." Predictably they resolved to terminate track laying at the Colorado River and also cease further expansionist plans in Texas. Construction was allowed to continue across northern Arizona to the Colorado River, but at Needles further progress into California was stalled.³

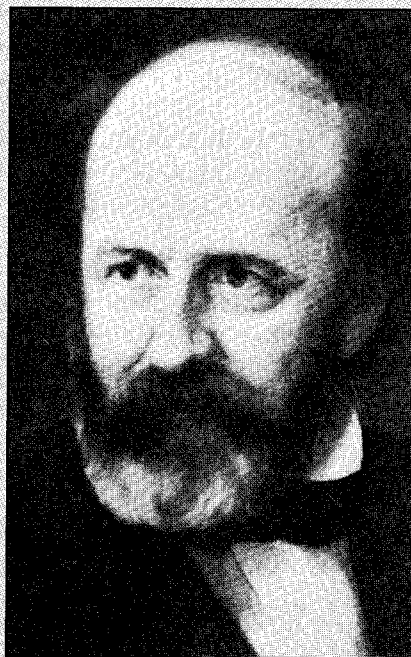


MANY Southern California citizens wanted a competing railroad as fervently as the Atlantic and Pacific-Santa Fe corporate heads and their stockholders. Residents of several California cities, particularly San Diego and San Bernardino, had developed considerable animosity toward the Southern Pacific. San Bernardino had been bypassed in 1875 as the railroad rushed construction toward San

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CHSTICOR COLLECTION



CHSTICOR COLLECTION

Gorgonio Pass and Yuma to block threatened entrance of yet another rival, the Texas and Pacific. Thereafter the Southern Pacific offered to build a branch line into the city for a price. Local committees considered the possibilities but eventually hesitated to raise the sum requested until they saw more evidence of the sincerity of the railroad's intentions. Part of San Bernardino's hesitancy rose from its confidence that one of the several projected competing railroads would soon enter the city through Cajon Pass. When this did not occur, the older town had to stand by in frustration as a new rival, Colton, developed under the patronage of the Southern Pacific.⁴

San Diego had an even longer period of disappointment which bred deep resentment. With its excellent harbor, some half-dozen projected transcontinental railroad schemes had promised to connect San Diego with the rest of the nation, but none came to fruition. When Southern Pacific requested and was denied extensive bay-front properties, com-

pany official Charles Crocker allegedly threatened the city would never be allowed to obtain a railroad. After unsuccessfully attempting to interest several companies in building lines to San Diego, local landowner and real estate promoter, Frank Kimball, traveled to Boston and persuaded officials of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe to come west to investigate. Corporate directors George B. Wilbur and Lucius G. Pratt, along with locating engineer Ray Morley, traveled to Southern California to examine the possibilities and confer with local citizens interested in backing the project.⁵

San Bernardino townspeople, anxious for their city to be considered as a stopping place on the anticipated railroad, held a meeting at the county courthouse on October 20, 1879 and concluded to send County Surveyor Frederick T. Perris and local newspaper editor, John Isaacs, to San Diego to confer with the visiting Santa Fe officials. Despite some efforts by San Diego citizens to prevent such a meeting,

Perris and Isaacs contacted Wilbur and Pratt at the Horton Hotel and conferred for some hours. Impressed by the arguments and supportive information presented, the railroad men agreed to visit the San Bernardino area to consider its potential.⁶

Two weeks later, Perris and Isaacs met Wilbur, Pratt and Morley near Fallbrook and brought them by carriage to San Bernardino, which had assembled a make-shift chamber of commerce and county fair to display local products and prospects of the region. After escorting the visitors on a tour of area sights, Perris took them eastward through the San Gorgonio Pass. Perris may have seriously wished to show his guests the possibilities of a railroad route northward through the Morongo Valley, but he also knew they were being shadowed by agents of the rival Southern Pacific who had abandoned following when convinced the rival party was not investigating potential roadways they valued. Most observers credit Perris with outsmarting his rivals by taking the

Frederick T. Perris, master surveyor and unsung hero of several phases of the struggle for a competing railroad into southern California.

(Right) California Southern Railroad grade building crew, probably in San Diego County, c. 1881. There is some controversy as to whether the laborers are Mexican or Chinese—with more evidence in favor of the former.



STEELE PHOTO SERVICE, SAN BERNARDINO

easterners into the high desert by the circuitous route, circling back to the west by way of Old Woman Springs and Lucerne Valley to the upper Cajon Pass where they could survey Perris' proposed route unobserved. They reportedly camped in the tunnel which symbolized the previous futile attempt to break the Southern Pacific monopoly.⁷

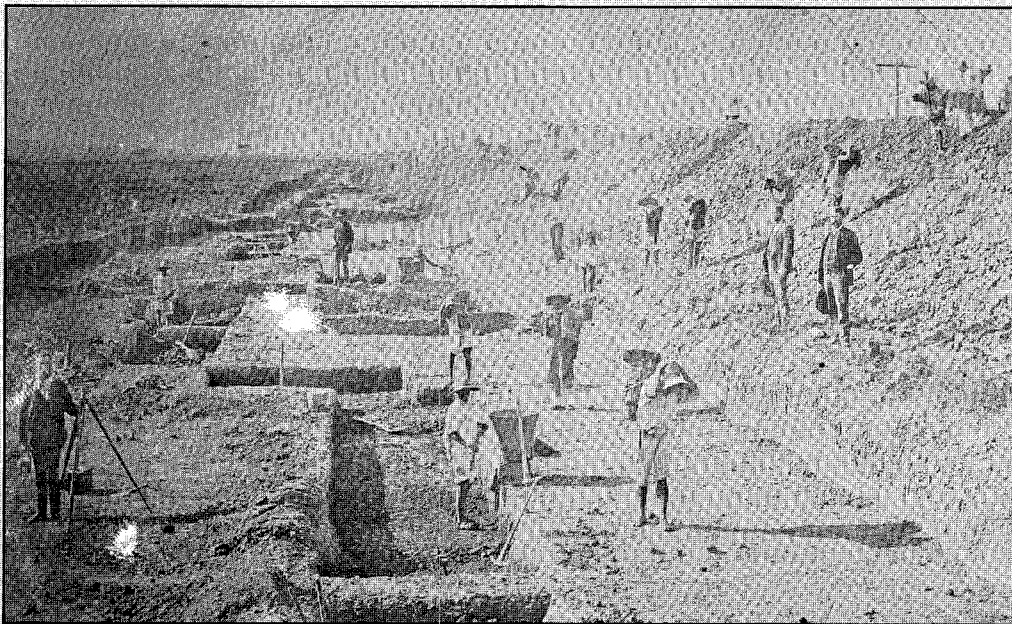
On the visit to Cajon Pass, Fred Perris argued for a route heading northeastward transversing the badlands above the narrow canyon that others had assumed made a route through that side of the pass impossible. He was able to demonstrate to the satisfaction of veteran engineer Ray Morley that with several large, but feasible cuts, such a roadway was eminently practicable. This route would also bypass the points where Southern Pacific holdings were assumed to block rival use of what was deemed the best entry way into Southern California. Thus the Perris proposal was one of the decisive steps in making it possible to subsequently break the Southern

Pacific transportation stranglehold on the West Coast.⁸

Much to the disappointment of the San Diego backers, Morley reported the route northward through Cajon Pass to be the most feasible for Santa Fe interests. President Nickerson informed his San Diego associates that their preferred route directly east was so hot and dusty that it would never be popular with passengers and that some delay could be expected before a railroad reached their city. In desperation Frank Kimball made a second trip to Boston. This time he was not as well received. By offering further cash and land subsidies, he induced several members of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Board of Directors to help him organize a separate, though closely related company, the California Southern Railroad Company, committed to building a branch line from his city to join the main Santa Fe-Atlantic and Pacific line somewhere presumably north of Cajon Pass. Santa Fe president Nickerson resigned his office to pro-

mote the new company, incorporated in 1880. He was soon acting as president of the infant company, backed as was Santa Fe, by the Kidder, Peabody financial house, along with fellow Boston stockholders B.P. Cheney, G.B. Wilbur, and L.G. Pratt.⁹

The exact route for the northern portion of the new railroad had not yet been determined when Joseph Osgood arrived by steamer from San Francisco and established a company office at San Diego. Acting as chief engineer, Osgood began surveying, hiring construction gangs, and generally directing the beginnings of what was facetiously called the San Diego and Boston railroad. Since the fledgling road could expect no cooperation from existing railroads controlled by the Southern Pacific, all rails, rolling stock and other materials needed had to be imported by sea. Sailing vessels began to arrive at the newly completed company wharf at National City just south of San Diego in March 1881, when the British four-masted *Trafal-*



gar docked from Antwerp, Belgium, with the first shipment of rails. Thereafter numerous ships brought ties and lumber from the Pacific Northwest, locomotives and other rolling stock from the northeastern United States, and rails from Germany and Belgium.¹⁰

The route chosen was from the railroad's own waterfront yards at National City, on through San Diego and generally along the coastline all the way to present-day Oceanside. This necessitated building sixty bridges in forty miles. From Oceanside the roadway turned northeastward and climbed up through Temecula Canyon, where Osgood failed to heed the warnings of Frank Kimball and local residents that floodwaters were potentially treacherous. From Temecula the grade was easier northward over the San Jacinto plain toward the juncture at Colton with the Southern Pacific main line. The epoch story of this phase of railroad construction, completed in August 1882, has been well told elsewhere.¹¹

This accomplishment was also a springboard for an equally important beginning of railroad grading in Cajon Pass. In late May, newly-appointed locating engineer, Fred Perris, made a quiet night transfer of his crew of six hundred Chinese and Indian graders from the Pinate area, near where a town would soon be named after him, to the mountain slopes north of San Bernardino. This was done to secure actual possession of the "most favorable route" before Southern Pacific crews, reportedly surveying in the area, could lay further claim themselves. With additional local laborers and supplies promptly sent from San Bernardino, California Southern crews commenced work at five different Cajon Pass locations along the route Perris had proposed. Within a week Southern Pacific spokesmen were denying any interest in building a line through the disputed pass. It can only be assumed that the loss of interest was because they had been outmaneuvered.¹²

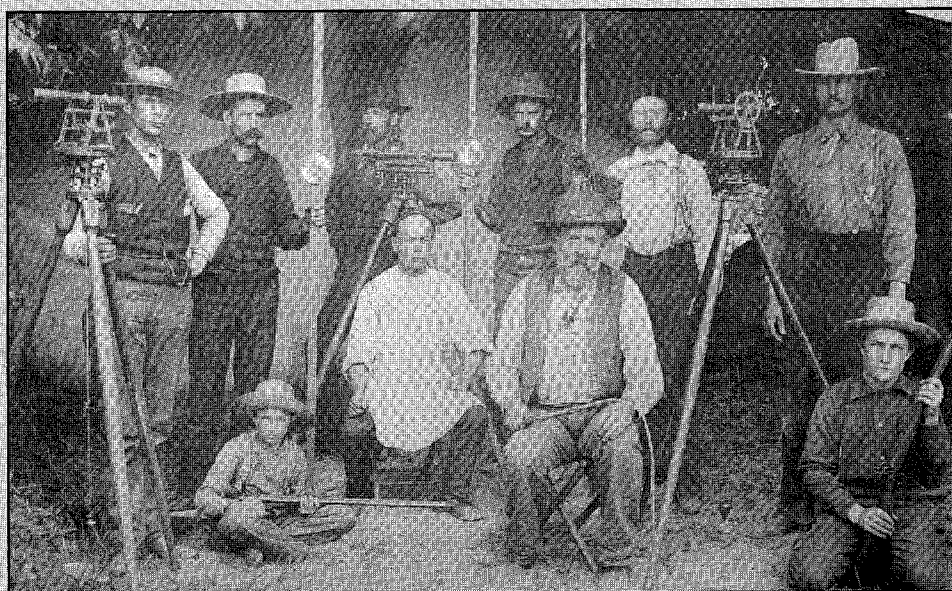
If not interested in the construc-

tion of a railroad line through the pass themselves, Southern Pacific made the work of their rivals immeasurably more difficult through harassment and delay tactics. Several of the most ridiculous of these involved the actual crossing of the Southern Pacific main line at Colton. Upon direction from Perris, fellow California Southern engineer Ben Levet devised a crossing frog—an arrangement of steel track by which one line may cross another at grade. This was assembled at the National City railroad shops and was awaiting use when, in early August 1883, the San Bernardino County Sheriff sent Deputy Tom Brandt to seize the equipment on a spurious charge of indebtedness to Southern Pacific. But when the officer arrived, he talked too much of his purpose and while sleeping that night, Perris had the crossing frog loaded on a flatcar and transported to Colton.¹³

Perris and his immediate superior, Jacob Victor, had already secured a court order directing the Southern Pacific to permit California Southern

Santa Fe/California
Southern Railroad
survey crew, including
party chief "Dad"
Woods, seated, and
transitmen, levelmen,
rodmen, chainmen,
and Chinese cook.
Both boys were Fred
T. Perriss' grandsons.

(Right) Arrival of the
first passenger train
of the California
Southern Railroad
into San Bernardino,
September 13, 1883.
Fred T. Perriss, locating
engineer for the
C.S.R.R. was at the
throttle and whistle.



PERRISS/LEFFEN FAMILY

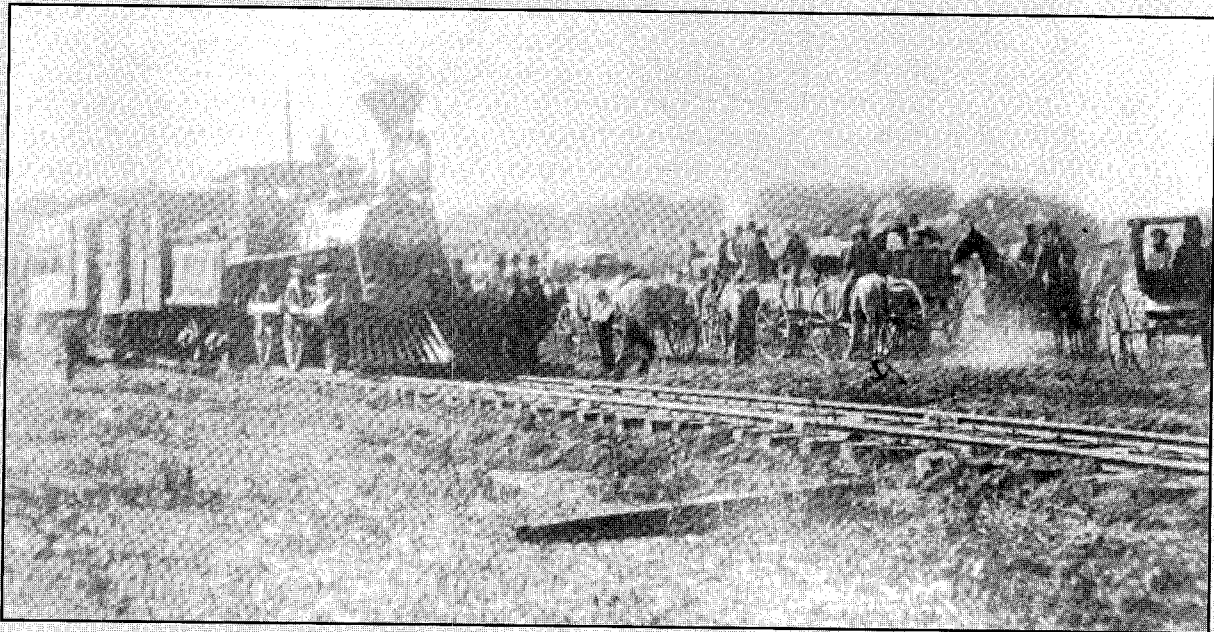
to make the crossing as desired, at a price considerably lower than what they had originally offered the older company for the right-of-way to cross their main east-west line. They requested Southern Pacific corporate manager, A.N. Towne, to designate a local company supervisor to work through in their operations, but had received no reply. On the morning chosen the California Southern telegraphed the Southern Pacific assistant superintendent at Los Angeles of their plans. After the through-bound Southern Pacific train passed, Victor mounted the track with a flag in hand, and the intention of supervising the removal of existing track to enable installation of the crossing frog. But just as the train had passed, nearby switchmen allowed several waiting Southern Pacific locomotives to steam from their sidetracks onto the main line. Though Victor waved frantically, the huge engines forced him to jump aside, and the engines steamed right to where the opposing crews intended to work. No amount of persuasion would move them.¹⁴

This created an explosive situation and several contemporary accounts agreed "bloodshed [was] expected." Some said that the gondola car contained from twenty to thirty railroad riflemen crouched just out of sight. Another reported one of the Earp brothers, of the notorious gunfighting family that resided in the area, had been hired with his personal arsenal to guard the trains. When the episode first began, someone in San Bernardino sounded the fire alarm and men quickly appeared from all directions. Officials there organized an armed posse which waited anxiously for court permission to forcibly clear the tracks of Southern Pacific opponents.¹⁵

The San Bernardino *Times* observed that it would have been foolhardy for the Southern Pacific to continue the obstruction tactics since such conduct would likely further arouse the people of San Bernardino, "who would rise *en masse* and protect the operation of the California Southern." The biased editor warned that "the temper of the

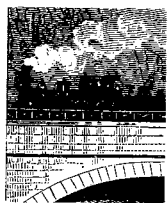
people must not be trifled with in the matter and we would warn the Southern Pacific authorities not to rely too much on its [sic] own power of might." The San Bernardino *Index* agreed, reporting that "the indignation of our citizens over the outrage is intense."¹⁶

Fortunately, cooler heads prevailed. Victor confided to Nickerson, "it was only by the greatest caution riot was prevented and there would certainly have been blood shed." He concluded that "it was advisable to work peaceably if possible." California Southern officials on the scene discovered Southern Pacific had a technical right to insist on ten days legal notice of the intention to cross the right of way. Although it would cost them several days further delay, Victor concluded it best to wait. Word soon arrived from Southern Pacific headquarters to "fix things up," and thereafter, relieved California Southern officials in the East were informed that the rival company not only "removed all obstructions" but actually lent assistance



to get the crossing frog properly installed. Victor reported all material necessary to complete the extension to San Bernardino, seized earlier by Southern Pacific, had also been released.¹⁷

San Bernardino had pledged a cash subsidy of \$20,000 and rights of way had been cleared for the tracks and depot. Perris and his crews had already done much of the grading and some construction work so it took only a few weeks to complete the remaining four miles to San Bernardino. On September 8, 1883, Victor and Perris brought a gaily decorated, "madly whistling" California Southern train into the new railroad terminus, touching off a jubilant celebration.¹⁸



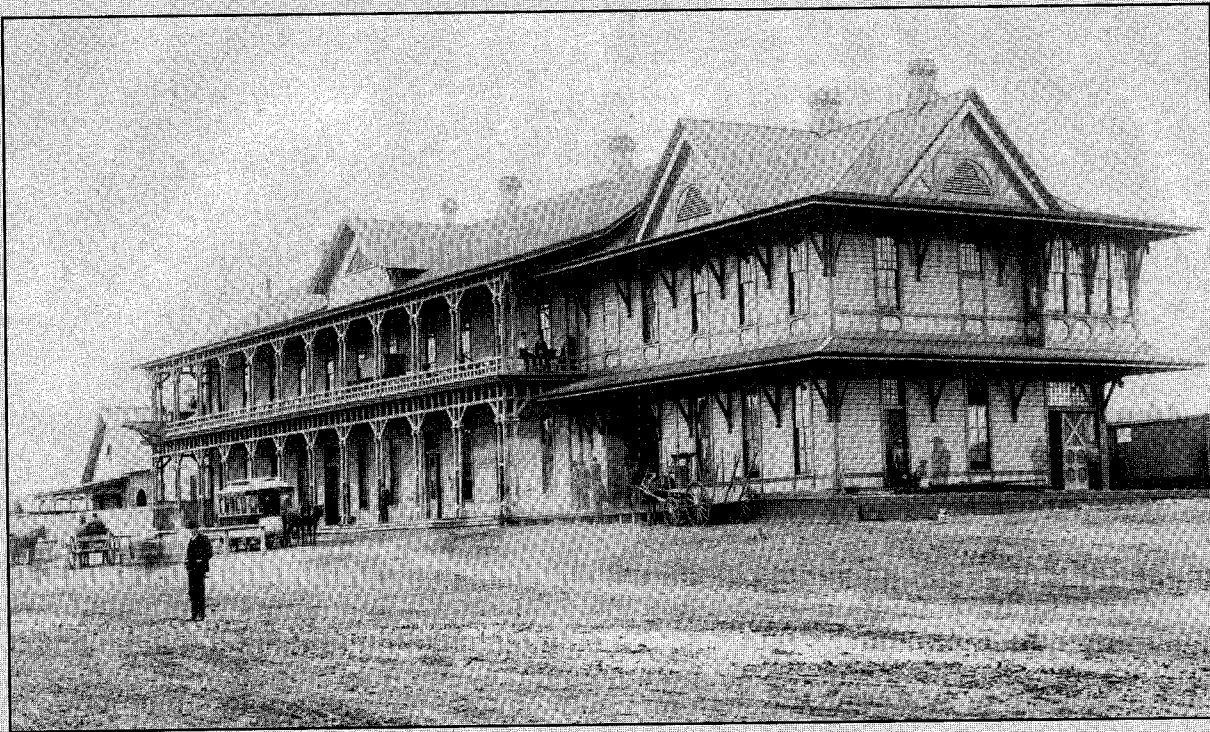
SOUTHERN Pacific had attempted to block the crossing any way it could. However, the methods that had often worked so effectively elsewhere were not nearly so successful in this

instance, perhaps because of the universal hostility previously engendered among the populace by earlier Southern Pacific tactics. The California Southern had resorted to the local courts to condemn a right of way while Southern Pacific attorneys utilized a wide array of delaying legal maneuvers to keep the matter stalled in litigation for almost a year. But besides the preponderance of precedents from other such conflicts, the California Southern probably had an added advantage in that the presiding Superior Court Judge Horace C. Rolfe was a boyhood associate of chief engineer Perris, from days when both were Mormon youths in the area. Rolfe's final court decision was fully supportive of the California Southern position.¹⁹

After these important hurdles were overcome, local citizens were naturally anxious for continued progress in the form of resumed railroad construction activity in Cajon Pass. When Victor returned to supervise erection of the San Bernardino depot and other buildings, he ex-

pressed public regret that further railway construction was then improbable. He explained that the California Southern was prepared to fulfill its commitments to build the extension necessary to connect with the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad Company, but the latter railroad was yet undecided in its intentions. California Southern management thought that it would be "foolhardy" to build farther until they received something more definite from the associated Atlantic and Pacific company.²⁰

Having blocked the Atlantic and Pacific-Santa Fe Railroad expansion at Needles on the California boundary, Southern Pacific bridged the desert gap from there to Mojave with a branch line which connected to its main road from Los Angeles to San Francisco. Prior to completion of this in August 1883, Collis P. Huntington and Santa Fe Vice President A.E. Touzalin negotiated a contract for cooperation and joint use of this new Mojave branch and other portions of Southern Pacific tracks which, in



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a roundabout way through Soledad Canyon, the San Fernando Valley, Los Angeles and eastward to Colton, enabled Santa Fe to connect with her infant sister, the California Southern, to reach San Diego and the Pacific Coast. However, as one careful observer noted, this agreement "meant substantially nothing" to Santa Fe interests because Southern Pacific operators carefully redirected all possible freight traffic by other routes they controlled—either north through Ogden, Utah or south through Yuma, Arizona. Touzalin protested the interpretation Huntington had made allowing Southern Pacific officials Charles Crocker and A.N. Towne to redirect traffic contrary to the previous negotiations. He described the Californians' treatment as reflecting an attitude that Santa Fe could only be "a corporation in the last stages of decrepitude." William B. Strong, Santa Fe president, also became increasingly dissatisfied with the joint use arrangement. He appealed to Huntington for assurance that suf-

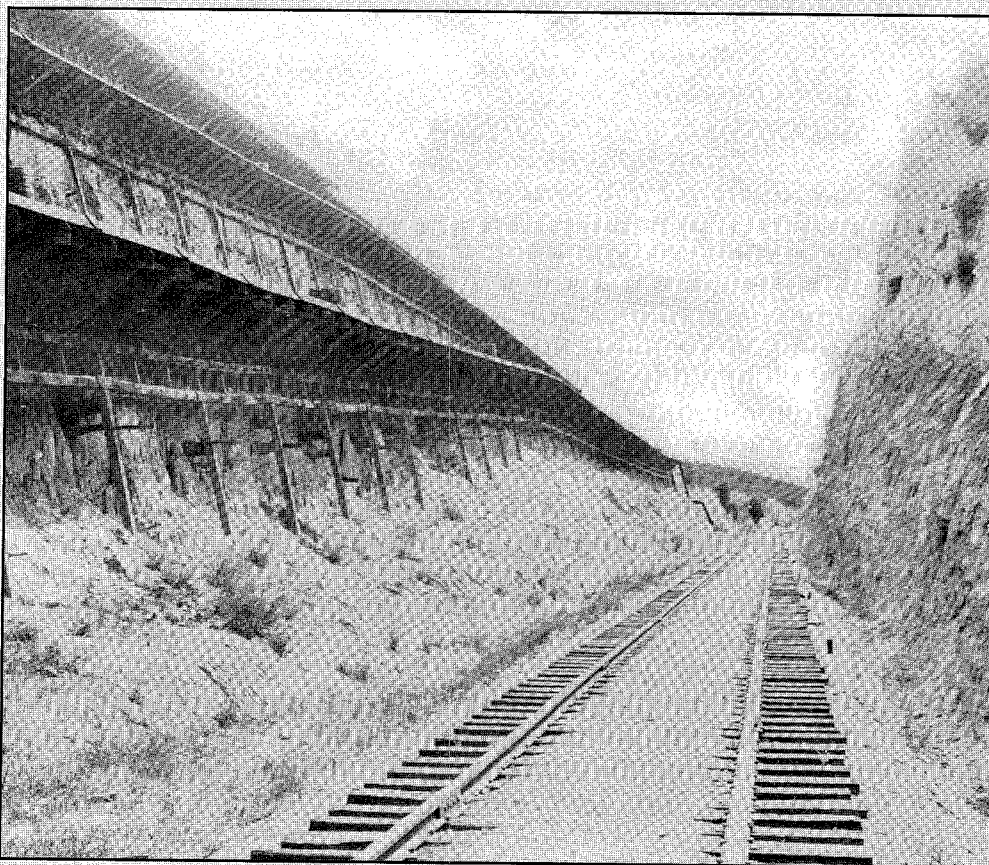
ficient overland traffic be allocated to his interests to make operation of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad financially profitable. He indicated that if conditions did not improve, his company would be compelled to build an independent parallel railroad to the Pacific Coast.²¹

Although there are indications that Huntington was inclined to be more equitable, his western associate, Crocker, was opposed and no concessions were forthcoming. Crocker was Huntington's closest associate from the surviving Central Pacific partners. Increasingly pessimistic about the railroad business in general, Crocker was specifically opposed to further arrangements with the Santa Fe-Atlantic and Pacific companies. In fact, he believed the rival corporation faced imminent bankruptcy and affirmed total lack of inclination to lend any assistance, though he was perfectly willing to sell the Mojave to Needles branch of Southern Pacific as a move that might prove the ultimate factor in discouraging the Santa Fe into

totally withdrawing from the disputed area.²²

This same attitude was reflected in Crocker's assessment of the closely associated California Southern Railroad. In the fall of 1883 when partner Huntington showed considerable interest in purchasing the small road, even "as a dead rental to keep the Atchison out of Southern California," he could get no support from his corporate associate. Crocker's reply was that if Southern Pacific were to become involved with the increasingly troubled California Southern, "the odium of nonfulfillment" of commitments the infant company was being blamed for would fall upon them as well. Crocker coldly suggested that the only way for the little railroad to "get out of the scrape they were in" was to dismantle their tracks and sell their materials for whatever they could get.²³

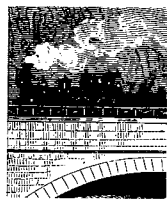
Crocker's opinions of the rival companies and the general failure to consider more seriously Huntington's proposals was one of the



(Left) San Bernardino Depot a year after it was built in 1886 by the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad. Upstairs contained offices of telegraphers, dispatchers and superintendent; the downstairs included a baggage room, ticket office, waiting room, and the Fred Harvey Dining Room. The building was destroyed by fire in 1916.

The great cut at the summit of Cajon Pass, enabling maintenance of a grade of 3%. Rain-water chutes constructed to prevent repeated mud slides.

greatest blunders ever made by the Southern Pacific Railroad. Later, as Huntington's nephew and new California associate, Henry E. Huntington, was surveying the situation, he observed, "it looks to me as though our people had been very remiss in allowing the Santa Fe to get the great advantage they have over us" in much of Southern California. His uncle replied, admitting that they had "lain still and let good territory be taken away from [them] when [they] could have prevented it as well as not."²⁴



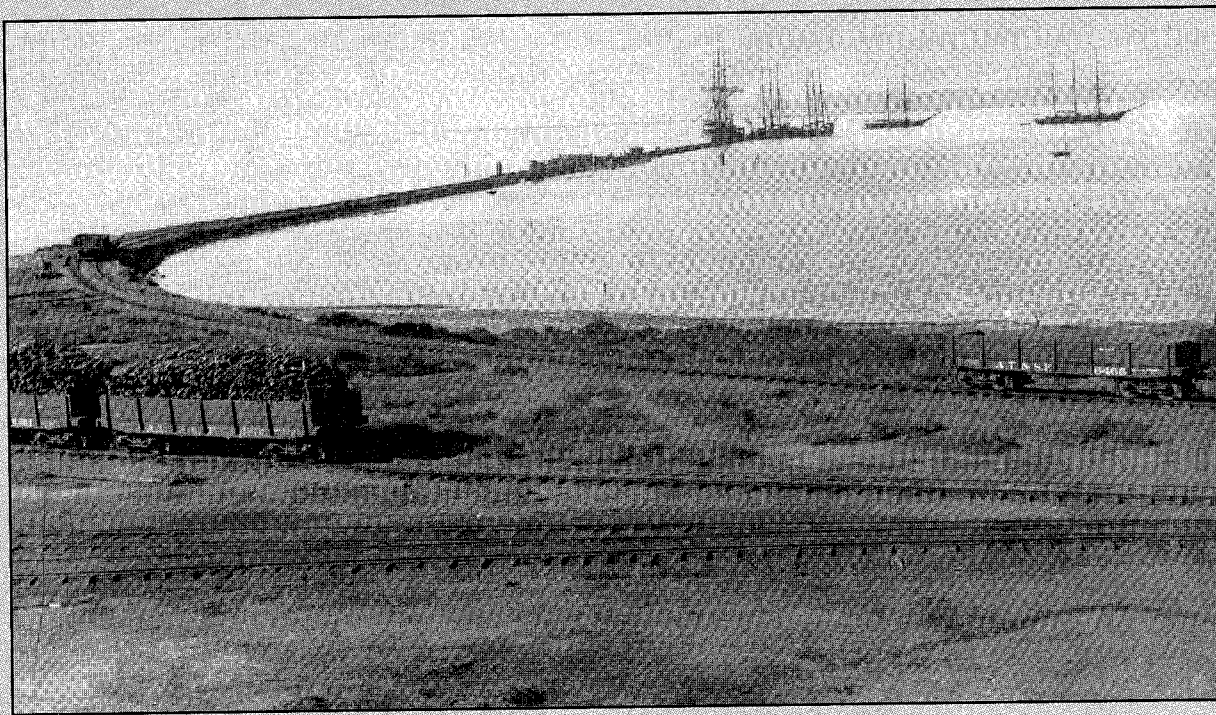
WITHOUT MUCH corporate support in California, Collis P. Huntington was soon to face even greater challenges in the East. These, too, proved to be a major stroke of good fortune for the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad. Just as the company was experiencing severe disappointments over joint use of the Mojave branch of the Southern Pacific, in August

1883, Jay Gould was quietly expressing similar disenchantment with his equally manipulative and self-seeking partner, Huntington. Gould wrote to the New York brokerage house of Seligman Brothers to complain that his interests had not been protected as the original purchase contract of St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad stock had stipulated. He claimed that since such considerations were the primary reason for his acquisition, he demanded a recision of the agreement and promptly returned the stock in his possession.²⁵

Early in 1884 this situation was made public when *Railway Age*, a reliable authority on railroad business affairs, reported that the Seligman Brothers would soon cease the arrangement by which Gould and Huntington had partially controlled the "Frisco" railroad and through it the Atlantic and Pacific. It was announced that the Seligman interests were "now in full accord with the direction and aims of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe," which meant

that if that company wished to press for an independent line to the Pacific Coast, there would be no corporate opposition to it.²⁶

Collis P. Huntington may have doggedly resisted for a few more months the increasing pressures to invade his California domain, but one contemporary reporter observed that in 1884 the "quiet struggle of giants which had been going on for several years" was gradually turning in favor of William B. Strong and the Santa Fe Railroad. The final catalyst in this transition of power was the financial crisis of the summer of 1884, which Huntington later ranked among the three worst he had weathered in his long career. Severely pressed for liquid assets to meet semi-annual corporate bond payments, Huntington was compelled to sell the Mojave division of his railroad to Santa Fe, along with granting equal access over other sections of the road to San Francisco. The *New York Times* was among the few who recognized the momentous nature of this event, observing that



SAN DIEGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY/TICOR COLLECTION

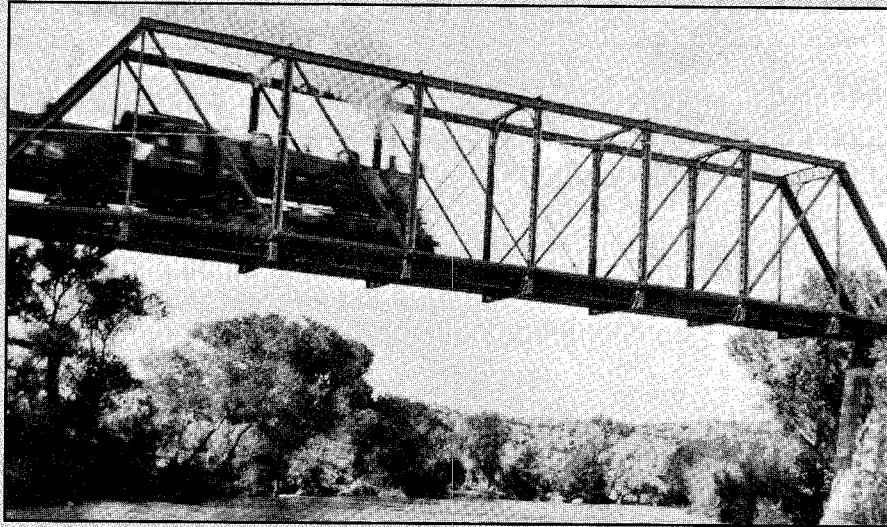
"the Central Pacific Company therefore loses its monopoly of California trade." Certainly Huntington would not have made the concession lightly, but under the circumstances of recent months, he probably could see no way to further forestall the competition he had been so successful in preventing for some fifteen years.²⁷

Meantime in Southern California, Chief Engineer Fred Perris made a detailed survey through Cajon Pass and into the high desert to the Point of Rocks near present Helendale. All of his reports indicated an excellent and feasible railroad route to the junction with the Mojave branch at Waterman (soon to be changed to Barstow in honor of Santa Fe President William Barstow Strong). After completing the survey, Perris wrote to Jacob Victor to urge that prior to public announcement that construction of the California Southern Railroad was to resume, they should quietly repossess the several points in the Cajon Pass where there might be conflict with the Southern Pacific's claims to the right of way. Perris un-

derstood that Southern Pacific had essentially forfeited her rights in the area by reason of abandonment for several years. But if the rival company should occupy any strategic points during one of California Southern's "temporary abandonments," it might cause great delay and expense. Perris suggested placing just enough workmen back in the pass at important locations to prove, if necessary, a "perceivable possession." This would take, he estimated, about twenty men and a foreman at the cost of about \$1,800 per month. Such men could be engaged in essential construction work while insuring the right-of-way claims. He further reminded his colleagues that in light of past "stubborn and vexatious resistance" from Southern Pacific, similar tactics might be expected in the proposed Cajon extension.²⁸

In late November, Perris was dispatched to the National City terminus of the California Southern Railway to supervise construction of a new railroad wharf. While supporters of the project interpreted

this action to be a positive proof that the company contemplated resuming construction of the railway through Cajon Pass, detractors pointed out that many such recent announcements that progress was forthcoming had thus far been merely rhetoric. Any optimism for a quick completion of the line was severely dampened by unprecedented rainstorms in January and February 1884; resultant floods were devastating to the railroad. Besides damage in the Riverside area, floodwaters from the vast Santa Margarita River drainage area through Temecula Canyon carried away some thirty miles of roadway. Ties and bridge timbers from there were later sighted over a hundred miles out at sea.²⁹ As quickly as possible, Victor and Perris, accompanied by an expert named Anderson sent from Boston to assist, surveyed the damages and reported to the company that repairs would cost at least \$119,000. On April 15, President Nickerson issued a plea to California Southern stockholders to raise the funds necessary to begin the needed reconstruction.



(Left) Western terminus of Santa Fe Railroad at National City, California around 1887, not long after consolidation with the California Southern Railroad which had commenced construction at this point.

Landmark bridge constructed across the Mojave River near Victorville on the lower Mojave Narrows in 1885, which still is in use. Massive granite block abutments have withstood several devastating floods, without so much as a crack.

Although only one-third of what was needed was subscribed in this manner, it was sufficient for the repair work to begin.

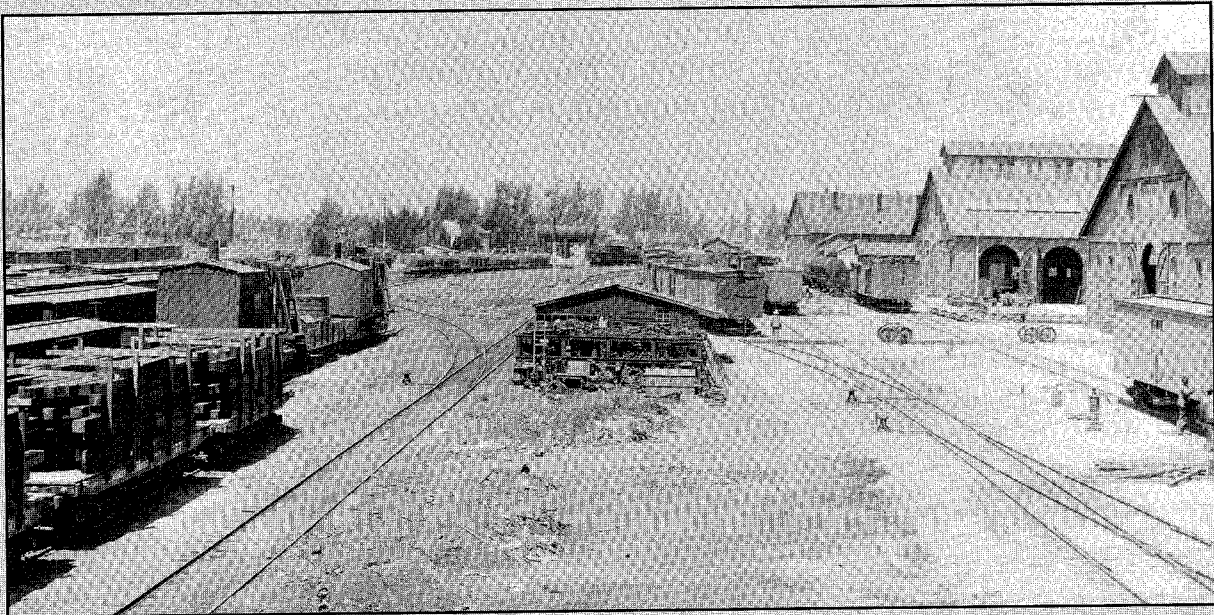
However, by the summer of 1884, the financial situation for California Southern was most precarious. Construction costs had always been higher than expected. Though some trains had run over the completed portions of the line from National City to Colton before the flood, the operation net loss stood at \$57,000. In July the company defaulted on its financial obligations.³⁰ But the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe corporate heads were not about to allow bankruptcy to enable Huntington and Southern Pacific to acquire the threatened property after all. News dispatches from New York dated August 6 reported that the Santa Fe directors met and discussed the subject of "perfecting their transcontinental connections." Although the final announcement of purchase of the California Southern by Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad was not made until November 7, 1884, it is apparent that repair-construction

money was forthcoming sooner from the parent company.³¹

In early August, at the same time news of the proposed purchase first started to appear in the press, Jacob Victor was ordered to "push repairs" on the California Southern with all possible speed. By October all the road except Temecula Canyon was again in operation, and the thousand men working there were expected to soon be transferred to Cajon Pass. After the disastrous rainstorms, in the late spring of 1884, Fred Perris made another survey of his proposed Cajon Pass-Mojave Desert route, while high water marks were still visible along the streambeds. He reported satisfaction that his grade in the pass and the southernmost end of the upper desert area would need but little modification. But from the Point of Rocks northward it was an entirely different story. The recent floods had raised the usually small Mojave River channel to a destructive torrent over half-mile wide and up to seven feet deep; before it subsided it had "virtually changed the topog-

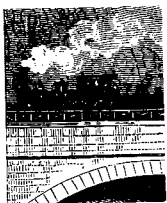
raphy" of the area. The pioneer road which had been in use for thirty years was completely washed away. As a result Perris proposed that the railroad abandon his plan to bridge the river a second time in the area and instead construct a roadbed on the higher ground east of the Mojave River all the way to the junction at Waterman. As usual, his superiors adopted his suggestions as policy.³²

Early in 1885, Perris further demonstrated his versatility as the prime mover on the local scene of the railroad project by negotiating with ranchers located along the Mojave River in what would soon be named Victor Valley (after Jacob Victor). As Perris confided to future California governor Henry H. Markham, then president of Oro Grande mill, located just downstream from where the railroad was to cross the Mojave River, it was of utmost importance to the railroad corporation's future movements to get the right of way question settled as quickly as possible. Perris showed considerable diplomacy in securing passage along the only practicable grade through



TICOR COLLECTION

the Upper Mojave Narrows. Discovering that long-time occupant John Brown's ownership of the property known as the Verde Ranch was based only on a possessory claim, opened the opportunity to persuade the proprietor that the railroad could help him in securing a more substantial title in exchange for the right of way through his ranch. On February 27, Perris reported to Victor that after several days of "most harassing work," he had settled the right-of-way matter with all the local ranchers for the sum of \$3,200, considerably less than he had earlier anticipated.³³



A WESTBOUND train stopped at Waterman Junction in mid-April to unload a five-hundred-man crew and equipment of the Hampton Company, subcontractors long associated with the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad. They immediately commenced grading and track laying just east of the existing railroad bridge across the

Mojave River several miles from Waterman. At the same time, at Colton, a special train unloaded a large number of carts, scrapers, plows, and tools, along with seasoned construction crewmen brought in by the Santa Fe from their subsidiary line, the Mexican Central Railroad. These, too, were promptly set to work on the roadway at the foot of Cajon Pass. By July Chief Engineer Perris announced that each crew had finished laying fifteen miles of track. Perhaps more encouraging was the progress reported on the iron bridge brought in sections from San Francisco, described as "one of the finest structures of its kind on this coast," being prepared to span the Mojave River just below the burgeoning sidetrack town of Victor. As the massive construction project continued, Perris also started a large Chinese grading crew on the massive cut necessary to avoid tunneling near the summit of Cajon Pass.³⁴ This proved to be the most time-consuming project, but it, too, was finally completed in mid-November; the last tie spike

in the pass was driven with some ceremony. On November 14, 1885, the first train climbed the new passageway from Southern California to the outside world unimpeded by any of the old monopolistic restrictions. Several days later San Bernardino celebrated completion of the railroad with fireworks, brass bands, speeches, and a barbecue. San Diego designated November 18 as its day for special jubilation and invited Fred Perris and other Santa Fe officials to join in recognition of their mutual triumph. By that time newspapers in both cities predicted modest increases in prosperity which proved to be an understatement of the subsequent region-wide boom that soon was in progress.

Unfortunately, one week after the celebrations, winter rains "played sad havoc" with the new roadway and once again the passageway was closed. As some had feared, the looseness and bareness of the new grade enhanced severe erosion problems; with heavy rains the cuts were quickly filled by mud slides. But this



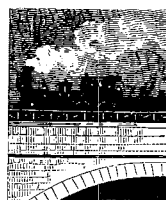
(Left) The San Bernardino Shop and yards for the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, c. 1888

The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad depot at Elsinore, early 1900s.

proved a temporary problem, one resolved by new water-diverting designs on the embankments and sometimes, the installation of wooden drain chutes.³⁵

By the beginning of 1886 the new railroad was again in full operation. By then the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe had served notice of severing ties with the Transcontinental Traffic Association so as to establish passenger and freight rates independent of agreements with competing railroads. In February 1886, Collis P. Huntington attempted to arrange a compromise to prevent the threatened rate war, but William B. Strong refused to accept anything less than a full share of the potential traffic. Huntington claimed he had even offered to give the rival railroad some Southern Pacific profits "for the sake of peace," but he said the Santa Fe wanted more than it had ever earned or than he thought it could ever earn. It was obvious: Strong and his associates were determined to capitalize on the long-standing resentments against Southern Pacific's often ex-

orbitant transportation charges in Southern California.³⁶



THE OPPOSING railroads immediately launched an all-out rate war. On February 18, Southern Pacific and Central Pacific announced it would cut its passenger fares to the Pacific Coast by one third, making the price for an individual ticket \$70 from New York to San Francisco. The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe countered with a fare of \$25 between Riverside and Kansas City, along with comparable reductions in freight rates. Ticket sales in the midwest on excursions to California were enormous as the prices continued to drop. By March 6, the rate from Chicago to the coast was \$20 and a Los Angeles newspaper of March 13 reported that "for a while last Saturday you could buy a ticket from the Missouri River for \$1.00," before the price stabilized at \$10 to Kansas City, \$15 to Chicago and \$28 to New York. The competi-

tion was further enhanced in mid-1887 by Santa Fe railroad garnering its own rail link all the way to Los Angeles through connection with the Los Angeles and San Gabriel Valley Railroad.³⁷

The end result was an unprecedented Southern California land boom. Completion of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe was the initial stimulus for that momentous event, one which thereafter fed on promotion, speculation and additional increases in population. A decade later, longtime Southern Pacific opponent Harrison Gray Otis correctly concluded, "thanks to a competing railway, Southern California has not suffered from the Huntington lash as severely as other sections of the state." The combined result of the competition and area growth was to transform permanently Southern California from a provincial pastoral region into the mainstream of a more complex and diversified economy. A new era in the life of Southern California now became a reality.³⁸ CHS

See notes beginning on page 145.



FRAGMENTS FROM THE PAST

A NEW TEACHER IN A FRONTIER TOWN

Roberta Ahlquist and Ivan B. Kolozsvari

CALIFORNIA HISTORY



CRATER, California and Edna Raum shared similar fates. Both enriched people's lives, both disappeared leaving scant traces of their existence. Crater, a little mining town south of Mono Lake, east of Yosemite, was reclaimed by the shifting pumice surrounding it. The only evidence of the community's existence is on maps produced in the late nineteenth century. Of Edna Raum, the enthusiastic elementary school teacher who taught there, only five letters remain, written to her mother more than eighty years ago.

Fresh out of teacher training at San Jose Teacher's College Edna set out for her first assignment in Mono County from Berkeley on August 27,

1902.¹ A trip of only seven hours today, hers was an arduous journey lasting three days. From Oakland to Reno, she took the luxurious cross-country train established by Crocker, Stanford, Huntington, and Hopkins, the empire builders. The travel was quite an undertaking for a young woman who was leaving a big town behind for a post in the wilderness. Her home town since birth, Berkeley was at that time witnessing its most spectacular growth. The University of California and local industries were expanding rapidly, making Berkeley a prosperous and respectable city. Since 1892 Edison dynamos had supplied light to the city. Two telephone companies competed for

service. On the streets of Berkeley, there were already parking problems—not enough hitching posts for horses.²

With a send-off by relatives which included a magnificent lunch, a *Ladies Home Journal*, a copy of *Ainsley's Magazine* and two boxes of candy, Edna was ready for this new adventure. A fatherly "old gentleman" in the railroad car sleeping berth above Edna was impressed by the adventurous young woman. Her comments about him in a letter to her mother give some idea of her inquisitive nature.



I held him at a distance for some time, [wrote Edna on August 30, 1902] but

he was so gentlemanly, and so kind that I could not long, and soon we were the best of friends, and he told me that if I would get up on time next morning I might have breakfast with him. I thanked him but did not say I would. The next morning he was waiting for me when I got up. I told him I had a lunch, and did not care to, but he insisted in a very nice way, and I finally yielded. So we went into the dining car, and to say everything was swell does not express it.

▲
Edna's concern for both propriety and her mother's approval is evident as she continues:

▲
After breakfast we had a little chat, but we were soon at Reno. There he carried my things off the car onto the other I was to take, talked with me for a while, then went back to his car, for he was going on to the east. He told me that he had a wife but had never had any children but he said, "I tell you, if I had as plucky a little girl as you are, I'd be mighty proud of her!" and I felt mighty proud of myself, for I had been afraid I had been too familiar in letting him take me to breakfast, but he was an old man, and I let him do a great deal of the talking, and I don't believe it was out of place; do you?

▲
Edna Raum's early preoccupation with social conventions contrasted with her attitude two months later. Social values in a pioneer town, she discovered, were often likely to reflect sincere human feelings rather than mere customary niceties. Trust, fairness, mutual dependence—these were necessities in the barren coun-

try east of the Sierra Nevada, and without them one could not hope to survive for long.

She rode in comfort by train to Reno; thereafter the real "wild west" began. The scenic route of the railroad had been carved into the Sierra slopes by thousands of Chinese laborers. But by the time the train reached the high plateau country east of the Sierra Nevada mountains, monotonous gray had replaced the lush greenery. Muddy roads, wilderness and great distances between pioneer towns, bare necessities, and a different set of social values confronted her. Edna discovered that

▲
You must be friendly with the hotel people and the stage coach drivers [when you come up for a visit] for as long as you are they will be your friends. They have one price and will not charge you a cent more. Everything costs terribly up here, and they are justified in charging high prices. Nobody has any use up here for a stingy person. (October 12, 1902)

▲
She was charged five dollars for transportation, \$2.50 extra for luggage, a dollar for bed and a meal. These were considerable sums, considering her teacher's salary was to be less than 25 dollars per month. Even at those prices, however, it was not a luxurious trip.

EDNA invited her mother to visit two months after her arrival:

▲
Decide to come on Wednesday so you can get here on Friday. Take the train I took and get a sleeper. You will have breakfast on the train and get to Reno about half past eight. At Reno the train stops for quite a while. There you get off and get

on a train of little yellow cars. That train finally starts for Carson, and gets there about ten o'clock, then goes on to Mound House, where you have to change again. There you will only have to wait ten or fifteen minutes. But at that place there is a little house right near the station, and you go and ask the lady to let you use the toilet, for you will have no other chance until you get to Hawthorne. Miss Overfelt told me to, and I did and was glad of it. (October 12, 1902)

▲
Mound House, just like Crater, now exists only on old maps or in stage-coach schedules.³ At Mound House the travelers switched to a small utility train to continue their journey. The locomotive could haul ten to twelve cars downhill, but when it encountered a steep grade, the train was broken up into sections, and the locomotives then shuttled back and forth pulling three or four cars. As Edna described it:

▲
You get on a little train that was built for Adam and Eve. There are only two cars and one of those is for baggage. It will probably be full of men, for there is a mining boom up here now, but everybody is as polite as can be, if they are treated that way themselves. Everybody was very good to me, and I was mostly among men too. I was fortunate in having three ladies on the car with me, but they say it is unusual for this time of year. We got to Hawthorne about six o'clock.

[In Hawthorne, Nevada] there are two hotels but both are good. As soon as you see the hotel man, tell him you want to go to Bodie, and you want to sit with the driver—unless the weather is bad. The seat with the driver is much pleasanter unless it is raining or snowing; when you are on his seat you do not feel the bumps so much.

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(Overleaf) Hauling supplies down the main street of Bodie. Date is not known.

Packing wood into Bodie, its only source of fuel. Note the mining claims being worked on the hill and the small and flimsy houses dotting the background. (All of the Bodie photographs included in this article are courtesy of Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.)

There are two drivers, so of course I do not know if you will get the one I had or not. But he is a fine one. He is a man about thirty and has driven the stage for years. They say the stage is perfectly safe with him—and he was so good. He seldom spoke unless I did, and then he was very polite. And before we started he put boxes under my feet because I could not touch the bottom and he said I should not feel the bumps so badly if I could brace myself. Then, as it got cold in the night, he stopped once to put a robe around me and at the stage station where we changed horses he got a shawl for me to wear the rest of the way [to the town named Bodie]. (October 12, 1902)

W.S. Bodie (?–1860), a skilled tinsmith from Poughkeepsie, New York, sailed around the Tierra del Fuego to join the California gold rush. In the desolate land, trying to grab a rabbit, so the story goes, he came up with a handful of gold. The place became a boom town, bearing his name. The town also attracted its share of thieves. “Throw down that box!” was a commonplace command shouted in roadside conversations by highwaymen from Bodie.⁴ Nevertheless, forty years later, in spite of its previous fearful reputation, Bodie was a safe place to visit.

You will get to Bodie about two o’clock, and the stage will take you right to the hotel door. The man will show you a room, and before he leaves you tell him you want to take the stage the next morning to Jordan, and tell him to be sure to call you on time.

At the hotel they were very good to me. The hotel man at Hawthorne telegraphed to have them save me a good room. But when I got there all the rooms were full, so they gave me the bed of the wife of the proprietor, and besides that

she was up to meet me, and know if I wanted anything. They woke me at six and I had dressed and had breakfast. I was the only lady in the dining room, and a China man did the cooking, so I ate an immense breakfast. My bill at the hotel was a dollar, but yours will probably be a dollar and a half, for Mr. Farrington told me they have raised all over the country. (October 12, 1902)

Edna told her mother the stage was scheduled to leave Bodie at seven o’clock in the morning and to arrive at Jordan before noon. Wryly she described Jordan as “an immense town consisting of one house, and a store where the Indians trade.” The same building served as the lunch stop-over before another five-hour ride to Crater.

Curious about how she was perceived as a new teacher, Edna asked her mother not to tell anyone who she was when she traveled to Crater.

The stage driver [on Edna’s way to Crater] was an old man, and a worse talker than any old woman I ever met. He told me all the gossips of Mono County. He told me about every teacher that had been in the county for 40 years. [So] don’t let on who you are, but pump all you can about Farrington’s new teacher. Ask him how they like her, what kind of person she is, if she is young or old, and everything you can think of. Tell him you heard they had a new teacher this year, and you wonder what kind of person she is . . . but don’t tell anybody what your name is, because of course, everybody in the county knows mine—knew it before I got here,—and I want you to pump all you can. (October 1902)

AT THE turn of the century, the vicinity of Mono Lake was deso-

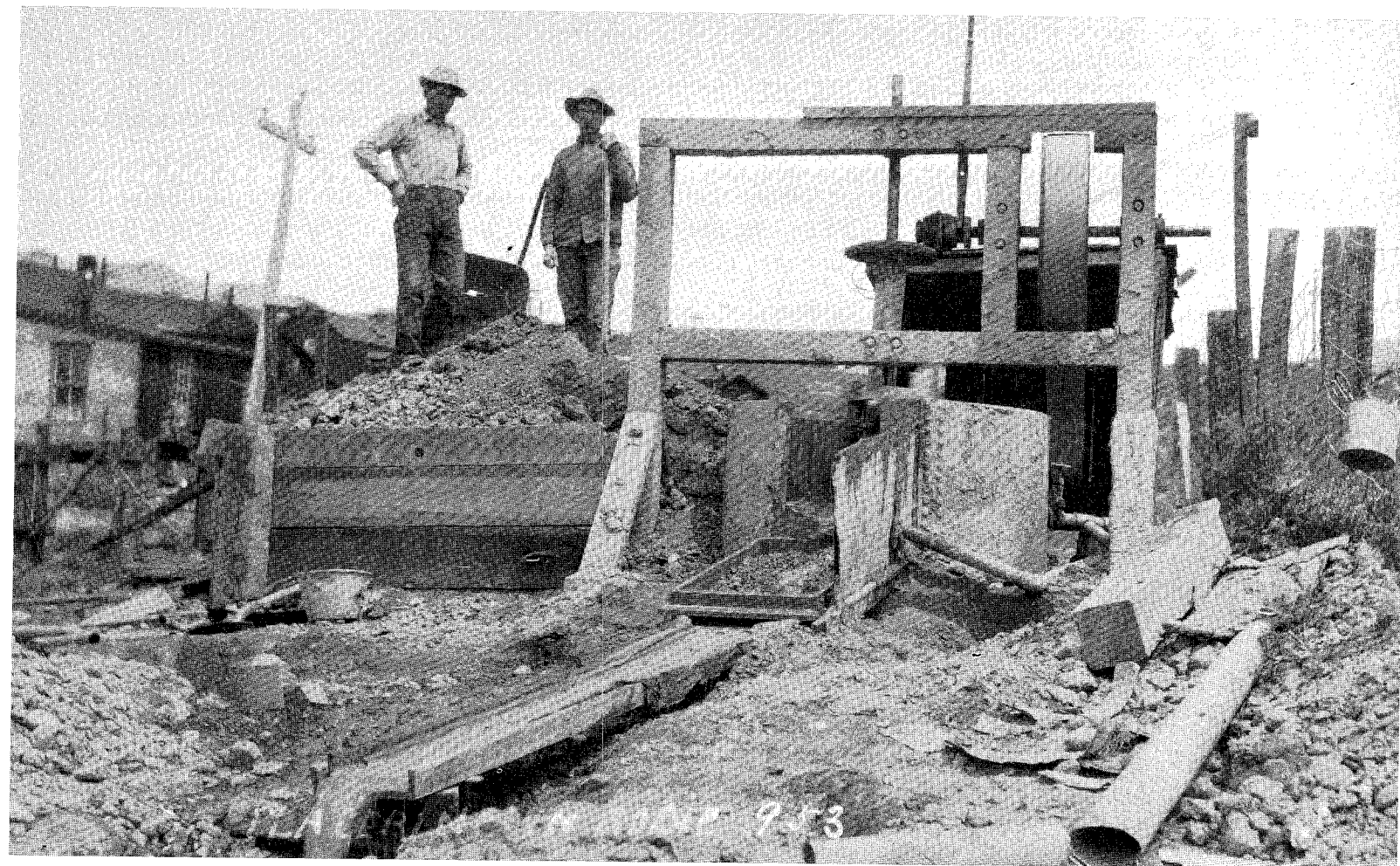
late save for some green patches the settlers had created. Since then the area has declined steadily. Dust took over the towns, and the obsidian mountains have been mined and reduced to sand. “It seems to me I do remember seeing one or two trees,” Edna reflected as the new teacher, “but the whole country is nothing but sand and sage brush.” Bodie and Crater shared this desolate terrain. The wood shortage was so acute that Edna referred to the cost of heating her schoolroom and warned her mother to “dress appropriately,” because firewood was a rather precious commodity. The Bodie Weekly Standard gave notice to local “wood-pirates,” a threat that was followed up shortly:

Bang! There was a rise in wood. A man living in the south end of town took a stick of wood lying handy on a neighbor’s pile. It burnt well until the giant powder cartridge in the end of the wood went off. The stove and a section of the roof went with it. The wicked neighbor laughed in his sleep.⁵

Reference to the hostile climate and pervasive dust was a constant refrain in Edna’s letters after her arrival. She advised her mother to

Get some substantial shirtwaist for yourself. Get dark ones for I never saw such a place for getting dirty. I dirty one in two days at school.

You can’t guess what I did this afternoon. I washed my head. It was getting itchy, and I thought the best thing to do was go ahead and wash it. And really, my head has been dirty before, but never seen the water so dirty before. It was actually thick. I had to use four waters. The sand flies up here you know, and everything gets perfectly filthy. It sifts



One of the many placer mines which were worked in the vicinity of Bodie during its heyday as a mining town.

in through the windows and under the doors, and is impossible to keep clean.

Even in this forsaken place, the school was well equipped, and adequate living facilities were provided for the teacher. This was a credit to such pioneers of women's education as Emma Willard, Catherine Beecher and Mary Lyon. In the nineteenth century, teaching was the only field of skilled work open to women. Frontier states and territories were vying for the "educated and trained women who would be willing to act as *missionary teachers* [sic] in the newly settled and ignorant sections of the West and South."⁶ Those educators who were preparing young women to be teachers faced complex problems. The training schools in the East had great difficulties raising money to send teachers to the West. Catherine Beecher campaigned for years to win public opinion and public money for common schools and trained teachers. The Eastern schools had to "select the teachers willing to take the long, uncomfortable journey to the western frontiers to teach in raw, young communities."⁷ Finally, in the 1850s, these schools took responsibility for seeing that the young teachers were provided with proper school facilities, reasonable living accommodations, and protection. Fifty years later Edna Raum was the beneficiary of these earlier efforts.

The school is just a little ways from the house, and a fine little school for such an out of the way place. Everything inside is in very good condition. They have supplies for a whole year, and maps and charts as good as in any city school—all recent and in good condition. (August 30, 1902)

My room has a bureau without the glass . . . then a glass . . . hanging up. There is a wash stand, a rocker, a straight chair, my two trunks, a little stand that my books are on, and I am writing by candlelight.

One letter makes an interesting comment on the perils of being a single female in a mining camp society comprised largely of unmarried men. It is not clear whether Edna was a heavy woman or whether she was described as heavy so that she would be more eligible for the position in a village of so many available men.

Maye told me today that last week it was reported that I weighed 220 pounds. I'm going to tell Prof. Dailey. Since I got up here I have been told how he was mixed up in my getting this school, and I feel that he is even a better friend of mine that I had tho't, and I thought he was a pretty good friend. (August 30, 1902)

What were the qualifications for a teaching post in the early 1900s? Was Edna Raum really overweight or did her friendly professor describe the new graduate as unattractive just to help her get the job? It may have been necessary to choose someone not too attractive for reasons Edna hinted at:

They idolize Miss Overfelt, and if I can come up to her I shall be all right, otherwise I don't know. I see very clearly that there is only one trustee who must be satisfied, and he is the one who was in love with Miss Overfelt [the teacher before Edna]. His sister told me that he has had quite a case with her, but she thinks it is broken now. (August 30, 1902)

WHEN Edna set out to the

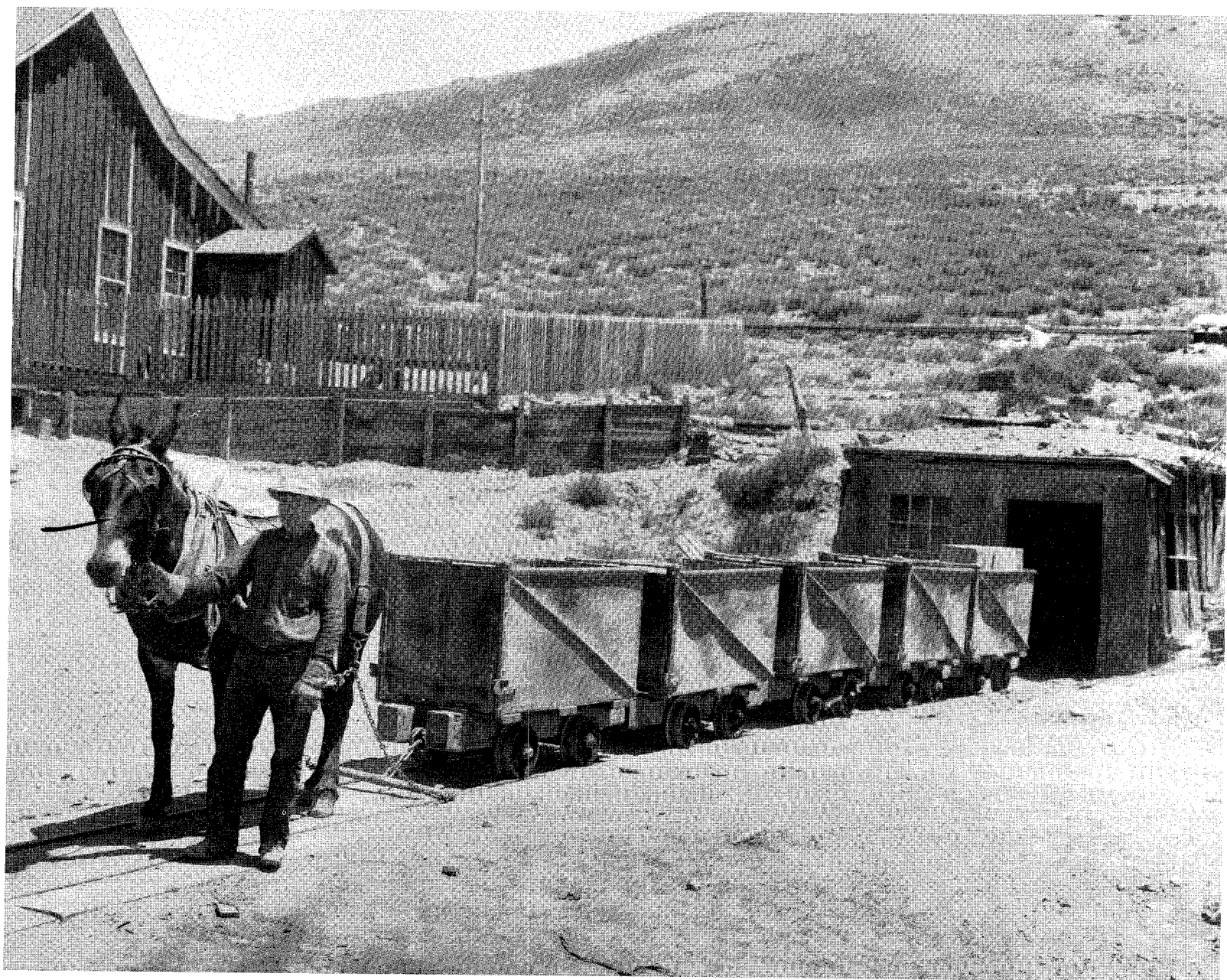
back country in 1902, the capture of the last Stone Age Indian, Ishi, was still a decade away.⁸ The full force of the Gold Rush fell upon the Indians with brutal impact. California Indians had no defense against the arrival of tens of thousands of gold-seekers bearing the Industrial Age. Vivid were the memories of the Indian attacks of the 1850s, when prospectors left behind everything. Some were killed, such as Bodie's partner, Taylor. Nor did the Indians forget the retaliatory raids and the resulting massacres against them. It was not difficult to send frightened Paiutes fleeing into the mountains to evade marauding parties. Edna's students included a fair number of Indians, and the change in her attitude toward them as she got to know them was remarkable:

. . . had some lovely grapes last night. The Indians brought them in. They are the funniest people, but I guess they are as good as they can be. Two or three called on me and one little girl came this morning and offered to help me unpack. I gave her a picture book and set her on the floor where I could watch her, and then I went on with my work. (August 30, 1902)

But [I] want to tell you not to be afraid of the Indians, for they will be your best friends as long as you are civil to them. They are a great deal better and safer than the majority of the white people you meet around San Jose and San Francisco. (October 12, 1902)

Even though her view of the Indian population was patronizing, she was quite open to the acceptance of another culture.

I grow to like the country more and more every day. It is wild—wild does not ex-



Hauling ore from one of the shaft mines which were scattered in and around the gold-rush town.

press it, though. It is more than wild. There are a dozen white people on the ranch, and any other white people whom we see are travelers to or from Yosemite. But the country is full of Indians, and I am just charmed with them. I certainly never met such interesting people. And they are just as good as they can be. The men work on the ranch and the women work for Mrs. Farrington, or stay at the Indian camps. Mrs. F. makes them dresses, doctors them when they are sick, and feeds them when they are hungry, and as a result she could not have such good neighbors at any place among the whites. They would do anything for anyone on the ranch. Oh! I am just more than charmed with them. I could sit and watch them by the hour. (September 10, 1902)

I told the class to write a composition on haying and this is what one of the Indians gave me. You can see from this how much they have yet to learn. But they read and spell and do arithmetic as well as, in some cases better than the whites. (October 30, 1902)

ANOTHER letter vividly describes Edna's social life in the form of a dance at the end of her first week in Crater:

Can you believe that I actually went seventeen miles to a dance? We had been talking about it all day,—all week in fact,—but decided not to go. At the supper table, Mr. Farrington Sr. said we had better go and the little fellow wanted to go pretty badly, so we argued the point during supper and finally decided we would go. We did not have to dress up, but I went in and took a bath, and then put on my green waist and short skirt, and we started out at quarter to seven. We had our light dresses, ribbons, pins and so forth in a grip, and when we

reached Lundy we went to the home of a friend of the Farringtons to dress. We met a young man there who was going to the dance, and he asked Maye Farrington to go with him and Ben Farrington took me. There was an immense crowd there about twenty couples, I guess, but in deep earnest they told me that the hall was too full to dance well. It really was a very small hall, but just think of forty people being too large a crowd. They said it is a larger crowd than they have had for some time. Just imagine! They ought to go to some of the Normal dances, where there are always crowds like the one you went to in June. They would suffocate to death in a crowd like that, I guess. But guess who was there! Cordie Hays who graduated with me from Normal. You can't imagine how good it seemed to see her, and she said the same of me. We were to-gether a great deal, and I promised her that the first time I have vacation I would spend a day or two with her. She may come and stay a day or two with me in a couple of weeks.

But now comes the great part—but first I must tell you that I danced or made an attempt at dancing three different times. Well, we stayed, and Maye danced until four o'clock, then we went and changed our clothes again and at twenty-minutes of five we started home. Actually, now, how can you own a daughter who went to a dance and "didn't get home till the marnin'?" There is a new teacher at Lundy, too, and she was there, so we two formed the nucleus of attraction, I tell you. Maye said I must tell you what some one said about me. She was dancing and strangely the young man began to talk about Farrington's new school teacher, and in the course of his conversation he said, "But say, she's a peach! She knocks the shingles off the Lundy school teacher!" Did you ever hear such an expression in your life? Now, needn't tell that, or I won't tell you

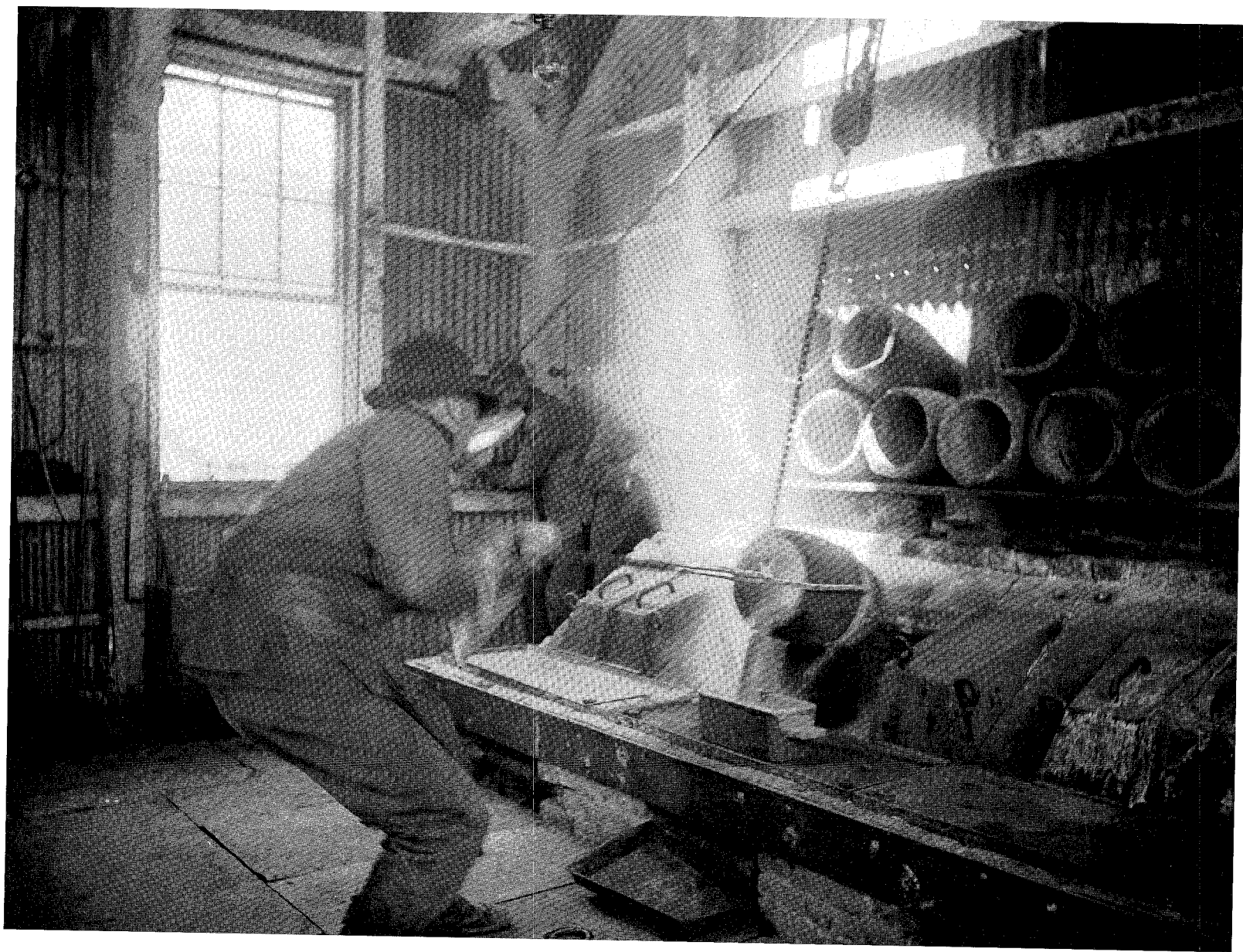
next time. We got home finally about half past six, and slept half of the day. The Lundy teacher's name is Miss Brinell or Grinell. I may not spell it rightly, but that is the way it sounds. She is a Berkeley girl, and this is her first school. I like her ever so much, and Lu may know her. (September 7, 1902)

When Mr. Farrington, Sr. urged the women to go to the dance, his concern may have been more than for the young people to have a good time. The obligation to take part in community events was understood as part of a teacher's position. Sensitivity to community needs was evident in the curriculum that required Edna to learn Spanish at San Jose Teachers College. Edna got a chance to use her knowledge shortly after her arrival at Crater.

There is an old Mexican down here whose name is Jesus, and last night I tried to talk Spanish to him. Immediately he became a friend of mine and told me all about himself. (August 31, 1902)

The letters give an impression of a well-prepared, conscientious teacher with diverse social skills. She was a sensitive, dedicated daughter who sent most of her earnings home to her mother.

Bodie is a ghost town today. Mound House and Crater have disappeared completely. We have not been able to learn how Edna Raum's life continued, nor when and where she died. It appears that she left nothing behind but a few letters set down in random moments. These precious tracks of one young teacher's life contribute to the extensive map of all lives that have gone into the making of California history. CHS
See notes beginning on page 146.



Working the gold smelter at Bodie.

HELEN MARSTON AND THE CALIFORNIA PEACE MOVEMENT 1915-1945



SWARTHMORE COLLEGE PEACE COLLECTION

United States Delegates to the International Congress of Women, the Hague, 1915. Rose Morgan French of Palo Alto is seated at the far right in the first row. Jane Addams is second from left.

WHEN WOMEN WORKED

Joan M. Jensen

In San Diego, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, when I was beginning to march in the streets to show my opposition to the Vietnam War, there were always a few "little old ladies," as I called them then. They marched with great determination, were regarded with special appreciation by their younger companions, and gave me great encouragement by their presence. I seldom wondered then who they were but it was quite evident that they felt comfortable doing what I had only recently come to feel was necessary. They were the oldtimers.

This is the story of one of those oldtimers, Helen Marston, and the peace movement of which she was a part from 1917 to 1982, when she died at eighty-nine. The main organization within which Marston worked was the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, WILPF for short. Marston first became involved in the peace movement as a student at Wellesley in 1917, organized WILPF in San Diego in 1924, and continued to work for peace for the next sixty years. Marston, later Helen Marston-Beardsley, marched in anti-war protests in San Diego through the 1970s and in 1980, when she was eighty-eight years old. Given the fragile state of women's

history in those days, it is no wonder that I, a historian of American history, did not know about her or much about WILPF. What is more surprising is that in 1985, when I returned to California to do research on a book about California women, I could find so little about women and the peace movement. That lacuna intrigued me, for I knew from other research that California women must have been active in the peace movement in the 1920s and 1930s, as I knew they were in the 1960s and 1970s. This is an attempt, as a historian, belatedly, to create a context for those elder stateswomen and to analyse their significance for women's history.¹

Helen Marston would seem an unlikely person to devote her life to public reform. Certainly, the local histories do not remember her at all. Nor do they say much about her mother. They do, however, amply document the life of her father, George White Marston, who arrived in San Diego from Wisconsin in 1870 when he was twenty, who began working as a clerk in a hotel, then worked in a drygoods business, formed a partnership, within eight years opened his own store, and survived the bust of the 1890s. He married and fathered a son and four

daughters, the last of whom was Helen, born in 1892. His business continued to prosper. By 1912, when Helen was twenty, the Marston Company owned a fashionable department store and the family was wealthy. The successful entrepreneur was a civic activist as well. Marston helped organize the Chamber of Commerce, a Congregational Church, a Young Men's Christian Association, and the Benevolent Society of San Diego. He also became a member of the board of trustees of the new Pomona College in 1888. During the 1880s, he served on the city council twice, and in the next several decades acquired a reputation as a benevolent city father, helping to establish parks and museums. In the 1890s, he became interested in the writings of Henry George, and by 1912, he was a Roosevelt Progressive. In 1913, he campaigned for mayor on a platform of controlled expansion and was defeated by the labor-backed candidate who accused him of obstructing development. The local labor paper, *Labor Leader*, described the campaign as pitting the "silkiees against the woolen socks."²

What was the daughter of such a prominent city father to do? Helen Marston left few memoirs, but apparently except for an attack of polio when she was two, her young life had

been nothing but ease. She attended the best private schools in the area, accompanied her parents on an extended European trip in 1909, and in 1913 followed her older sisters as a student at Wellesley, an elite women's college in Massachusetts.³

At Wellesley, Marston was drawn into a world where not only men but also women understood and participated in political reform. Wellesley College literally transformed Marston's life. She arrived shy, with no experience at public speaking and little exposure to educated women reformers or to pacifism. She found teachers like Emily Balch, an economist and anti-militarist. By February, 1916, Marston was writing home to her father that she did not think preparedness was a solution in defense. "Why not spend some of our money and energies in forming good relations with Japan, and in taking care of the women and children in factories and so forth, rather than arming to protect them against an army that we merely assume is coming," she wrote. Then, as if worried about expressing independent views on a major political issue, she added: "If you don't think this way, won't you write me? . . . I read the papers but haven't any political background." At the same time, she wrote with perfect confidence that her father would applaud her participation in student efforts to reform Wellesley's strict Sunday rules. "I rose and spoke for the first time in my life," she informed him.⁴

Marston was home every summer and she also took 1914 off to make a second European trip with her parents. Beginning in 1915, she worked as a volunteer at Neighborhood

House, a San Diego settlement house that served the immigrant Mexican population. Marston continued her work at Neighborhood House for several years after graduating in 1917, reporting to her former classmates that she was teaching cooking classes, having "funny long talks with the boys," and engaging in the Mexican dances at which they "handed the babies about between the dances or put them in a row on one of our beds." Later she spent time as a settlement volunteer in Chicago and at the Henry Street House in New York, but she never committed herself totally to settlement work. It was varied and enticing, she wrote of her work at Neighborhood House, but "not always too encouraging."⁵

She found political work more exciting. In 1918, Marston wrote that she had argued with old ladies "until they left their half-prepared dinners and accompanied me to the polls to vote us dry." She was, she admitted, "getting acquainted with every doorbell in this city as a canvasser in various 'drives.'"⁶

Marston also kept in touch with the peace work of Jane Addams and Emily Balch. In 1921, Jane Addams asked her personally to attend the WILPF congress in Vienna. Writing home to her family to discuss plans, Marston emphasized twice that WILPF women were pacifists, not extremists, and that the trip would involve no personal danger to herself. She told her parents that she had wanted to do relief work in Europe since the beginning of the war and that once overseas she would like to stay to do relief work with the Quakers. Although now twenty-nine, Marston was asking parental permission to "do something rather different and have a little adventure." The letter was twenty-seven pages long, the argument logical and reassuring. "Even in bed you may break a rib," she

coaxed. The permission was granted. Marston attended the conference, then worked for seven months for the Friends Mission in Vienna, helping distribute rations to the impoverished professional middle-class, the *Mittelstand*. Marston returned to New York in December, 1921, where she joined her father and sister Mary. Mary noted later, "Helen found it hard to reconcile the extravagance of New York with the misery she had left behind her in Vienna." After a six-month trip home to San Diego via the Panama Canal, Marston again faced her affluent family. What could she do with her life? She decided to teach.⁷

Teaching and teacher training were to occupy much of Marston's time for the next fifteen years. At first Marston saw her classes as preparation for social service work. She studied physics and chemistry but then taught in two "very interesting modern schools." By 1926, she was clearly becoming bored with this as well, for she wrote for the *Wellesley Sequel* "I do not like to write myself down as a failure for all to see or to appear to have become a pessimist, but if I permit myself to wax enthusiastic over my job of the adjustment and development of senior obstreperous children in a small modern school, as I easily could do, then I see my wretched efforts rising up to confront my glowing descriptions and I remember how bad the children were today. You had better just write 'school teacher' after my name." By 1927, Marston was in New York studying analytical and behavioristic psychology of young children at Columbia University and the New School for Social Research in New York. Then she taught at a "progressive" school in Hollywood before returning to San Diego to teach first graders at a similarly "progressive" school in La Jolla. "We have a big yard with plenty of dirt, blossoming [*sic*] trees, animals and packing boxes for the construc-

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WILPF Peace
Caravan ready to
start from Griffith
Park, Los Angeles,
June 21, 1931.

SWARTHMORE COLLEGE PEACE COLLECTION



tion of boats and buses," she wrote to classmates in 1931, urging them to visit and "bring the children." During the summer of 1933, she taught in a West Virginia school set up for miners' children. She taught in San Diego until she married in 1935.⁸

An event in 1924 firmly linked Marston's vocation of social work to the politics of peace. In early January 1924, Emily Balch arrived in San Diego, seeking to recover her health after exhaustion from arduous work, first against the war (her contract at Wellesley was not renewed in 1918 because of her opposition to the war), then on relief, and the building of the post-war women's peace movement. Her sister who was also ill accompanied her. Balch brought with her the names of several older San Diego women who had supported pre-war peace activities. One had given Jane Addams \$1,000 to help finance the 1915 Woman's International Congress of Women at The Hague. Others had helped found in 1915 the San Diego branch of the Woman's Peace Party (WPP), the predecessor of WILPF. Balch also had the names of former Wellesley

students, including Marston. Balch rested and visited for two weeks, then began speaking on peace and organizing. The older women seemed to have little energy for expanding their peace activities; but Marston responded enthusiastically to Balch. In a letter home dated 13 January 1924, Balch noted that she hoped Marston would help organize a San Diego branch of WILPF and in her diary of February 22, just before leaving, Balch wrote that she had attended a WILPF meeting at Marston's house. From that time on Marston was to be an active part of the California peace movement, a major contact with the Eastern leadership, and the WILPF's most trusted leader on the Pacific Coast. She eventually became an organizer for the state, then the entire western region in the 1930s, and finally a member of the national executive board, traveling east for meetings.⁹

Marston was exactly the type of woman the national needed and wanted for its campaign to organize California women for peace. Once committed to WILPF, Marston never left it. Marston gave WILPF the

blend of education, social background, and political awareness that it most valued in local and regional leaders. Her family was liberal enough to support her even as she moved left in her peace activities. Although Marston often worked for other groups as well, especially the Socialist Party and the American Civil Liberties Union, she remained active in WILPF even after marrying in 1935 and moving to Los Angeles. When she married at forty-three, it was to a civil rights attorney and judge who had helped start the American Civil Liberties Union in Southern California. By the time she moved back to San Diego in the late 1960s, the WILPF branch there had lapsed, so she immediately called a group of women together to resurrect it. By this time she had become a Quaker and was one of the most respectable of peace advocates in San Diego.¹⁰

Marston had serious problems within and outside WILPF to deal with as a new organizer. One of her major concerns was leadership. California WILPF leadership overlapped with that of the earlier Woman's

Peace Party but changed over the years. As elsewhere, the California WPP began within the women's club movement and recruited from the ranks of club women who saw peace as a woman's issue. Club women, however, often had other priorities in their families, travels, and homes and were not interested in organizing. Many of them did not outlast the first confrontations with opponents.

Opposition was not a problem when the WPP first organized in California in early 1915. Peace was a highly respected cause nationally, and the WPP was able to obtain the support of a wide range of prominent civic men and women. Bankers, presidents of colleges, insurance executives, and ministers, along with a variety of club women, lent their names to both the Los Angeles and the San Francisco branches for their councils. California sent a delegation to the April 1915 International Congress of Women at The Hague.¹¹

Among the California women at The Hague was Alice Park, who had organized the Palo Alto branch of the WPP. Alice Park's decades of peace work were to be an important basis for establishing Palo Alto as a center of pacifist activities that has lasted down to the present. Park had moved west from Boston with her engineer husband in 1893 and was left a wealthy woman when he died in 1909. She worked for California suffrage and with that achieved in 1911, turned her attention more directly to working for peace, something that had interested her and other California clubwomen since the 1890s. With the vote, women intended to use their political power to change the way nations handled foreign affairs.¹²

In Palo Alto, Park found a group of middle-class women ready to engage in volunteer activities for peace. In May 1915, she helped organize a branch of the Woman's Peace Party

with Ellen Coit Elliott as head. Elliott was a part of a group of women whose husbands had followed David Starr Jordan west to help with the establishment of the new Stanford University in 1891. Elliott had been a librarian at Cornell University and her husband was the first registrar at Stanford. Another woman who joined in the peace movement later wrote about how the young wives of faculty and staff, left without the accustomed servants in a new community, were determined not to become mired down in housekeeping. They experimented with dress reform and cooperative kitchens and supported women's suffrage. Many were also active in the peace movement. David Starr Jordan had become Chief Director of the World Peace Foundation in 1910 and was on the Woman's Peace Party's speakers' bureau list; his wife Jessie Knight Jordan lent her name to the Advisory Council of the WPP. Several other women who became members were married to Stanford faculty.¹³

The group that formed in May 1915, had thirty members, a respectable number for a small university community. This first woman's peace movement in Palo Alto was short lived, however, for preparedness soon overtook the campus. Women gradually dropped out as preparedness and then war became popular causes on campus.

Despite Park's personal commitment to peace, she was not able to sustain the Palo Alto group. Park was an important link to the national and international peace movements because she could afford to travel, but that mobility also meant a concomitant weakness in sustaining the local. Park had already demonstrated for women's rights in support of Emmeline Pankhurst and attended the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in Hungary in 1913 before attending the Congress of International Women at The Hague. She returned

ready to take up her peace activities again, writing to WPP headquarters in November 1915, "I wish we could organize the peace sentiment that is lying around loose." In an effort to do so, she distributed thousands of WPP leaflets at the Panama-Pacific Exposition and spoke on peace. That fall, however, she returned again to Europe, joining the Ford Peace ship, and then attending the WPP annual meeting in the East. By the time she returned, the fledgling Palo Alto group had disintegrated.¹⁴

The preparedness campaign of 1915 had quickly melted the broad statewide community support for peace and given women their first taste of opposition. Katherine D. Cumberson of Palo Alto, the vice-president of the California Federation of Woman's Clubs who began organizing the state WPP in 1915, developed the first networks north and south, and then watched the branches disintegrate during the Pacific Coast preparedness movement. Cumberson reported to headquarters in November 1915, "It is more difficult to get members than it was before the preparedness scare. Then you could move them through their emotions, now you must argue."¹⁵

As the women prepared their arguments, opposition crystalized around the Pacific Coast Defense League. This group had consolidated the scattered coastal Army and Navy Leagues into one coalition supporting military preparedness. The League launched a broad campaign, not only to lobby for military appropriations for Pacific Coast defenses but also for military training in the high schools. Abstract opposition to war now faced concrete organized support for military activities.¹⁶

By January 1916, the WPP was encountering open opposition. The

*Helen Marston,
Radcliffe College
Class of 1917.*

WELLESLEY COLLEGE ARCHIVES



Defense League, Cumberson wrote, "is giving us a merry run." It had secured an active anti-suffragist from New York to denounce the women's peace campaign. While Cumberson struggled on in the north, the campaign stopped the Southern California branch in its tracks. It cancelled all public activities and confined itself to a reading class. By early 1917, Cumberson was still trying to organize but ready to eliminate "peace" from the group's name because there was so much sentiment against it. In March, on the eve of the entry of the United States into the European war, she reported from her home in Palo Alto, "Stanford is now an armed camp." California women who persisted in their pacifism after the United States officially joined the war in 1917 found themselves ostracized by former friends and investigated by the government. Even Park, who tried to continue her wartime peace work through the People's Peace Council, ceased public activity when that group was harassed out of existence by federal agents and local super-patriots. The California WPP disintegrated

and its leaders did not attempt to revive the peace movement until 1922, after national leaders had reformed as WILPF.¹⁷

Cumberson began the task of rebuilding the northern movement, but she was never again as successful as before the war among her club-women constituency. After moving from Palo Alto to San Francisco in 1922, Cumberson laid careful plans to establish a new branch of the WILPF. This attempt failed despite an enthusiastic first public meeting when the woman she selected as president did nothing. A second attempt to organize the San Francisco branch in early 1923 also failed and Cumberson wrote dejectedly to Amy Woods, executive director of WILPF, that she thought the failure of women to carry through on their promises "the result of some subtle force working against our organization." When the formerly thriving Palo Alto branch had not revived by the end of 1922, a new member Annie Laurie Tait wrote disconsolately, "there is, I think, some element here that is acting as a deterrent to us in

some ways." A woman wrote from Redlands to WILPF headquarters that she, too, encountered opposition from militarists.¹⁸

The opposition in San Francisco and elsewhere along the Pacific Coast to WILPF seemed to be a response to the growing success of WILPF in mobilizing opposition to post-war rearmament at the national level. In 1923, the War Department launched a nationwide campaign against women pacifists. Throughout the country the War Department asked officers to condemn women pacifists as "bolsheviks," singling out as particularly dangerous a San Francisco peace activist, Sara Bard Field. A suffrage worker known for her speaking ability, Field had delivered an address in Washington in 1920 for the unveiling of the Susan B. Anthony statue in the Capitol. Soon after the War Department staff obtained a copy of a letter purportedly written by Field saying that she supported revolution, peacefully if possible, violently if not. With this letter as supposed proof of the revolutionary goals of women pacifists,

generals in the War Department condemned women reformers, particularly WILPF women, as bolsheviks. Field was a member of WILPF, and was invited to speak before the San Francisco WILPF in 1923. But Field was not active in organizing WILPF in any way. In fact, Field was still recovering from a nervous breakdown following an automobile accident in which her son was killed and she was injured. She was attempting to get her personal life together after years of intense suffrage work and an extremely bitter separation and divorce from her husband. Except for a very few speaking engagements, Field did not return to public life thereafter. She lived with and then married a retired lawyer and former army officer. Her name appears nowhere in WILPF documents except as the 1923 speaker. The Washington office later recommended her after a well-known national speaker cancelled an appearance in California but she refused a second invitation to speak.¹⁹

In Washington, WILPF leaders immediately counterattacked. From Washington, WILPF executive director Woods wrote that the campaign by the War Department did not discourage her for it showed the growing strength of peace groups. Women pacifists and other women's groups forced the War Department to retreat from its open assault on women by threatening political retaliation by newly enfranchised women.²⁰

The War Department had misjudged the sentiment of American people, in California as elsewhere. Despite the War Department's attacks, Marston and the newly organized WILPF in San Diego successfully presented their arguments against increased armaments at a 1924 joint Army-WILPF debate on Defense Day. Marston herself was a little unsure of launching the San Diego chapter with such a major undertaking so soon after its forma-

tion. Once decided on by the group, however, she helped ensure its success. This event is uniquely preserved in a typescript so that we know precisely what occurred when 3,500 San Diegans crowded into the Civic Auditorium on September 7, 1924. The debate began promptly at 3 P.M. with the singing of the National Anthem and "Dixie." Marston then made a statement that WILPF opposed Defense Day and believed the best defense was not preparedness for war. The chairman announced he was for Defense Day and then the debate took place between a War Department representative, Colonel Charles M. Tobin, and WILPF's speaker Paul B. Blanchard from the League of Industrial Democracy. Tobin said that some women wanted to destroy the government but that God, the law of nature, and the judgement of great men called for "reasonable preparation." Blanchard kept his argument closer to home, noting what he loved (the California climate for one) and what he hated—child labor, slums, corruption, and the Ku Klux Klan. He said he was opposed to Defense Day not because he was a pacifist, rather because it had not been approved by Congress or the people but "foisted upon the people by a reactionary War Department." He then named various governors, churches, and women's clubs that opposed Defense Day. The second reason for his opposition was the effect it might have on other nations, that "the War Department is going on to use our emotions to further its imperialistic plans and send our soldiers and our sons to protect the American bankers and their foreign investments." He concluded by arguing that it symbolized the international race for armament and that world peace could only be achieved by disarmament. Americans must, he urged, take up the task of extending justice instead of force to other

nations. A show of hands after the debate showed overwhelming support for Blanchard's position despite the attendance of a number of patriotic groups. Marston was elated.²¹

Most California branches encountered decreasing opposition from local militarists in the 1920s. After 1924, generals chose to work more quietly through the American Legion, but that was not a uniformly effective instrument for attacking WILPF. In response to an inquiry from the Washington office in 1925 about American Legion opposition, the San Francisco WILPF chairman replied on American Legion stationery, pointing out that her husband was an adjutant in a Legion post in San Francisco and had a slogan about the "abolishment of war." In Los Angeles, WILPF found the American Legion not at all opposed to its organizing. In 1928, the American Legion rented its hall for a big Jane Addams meeting and, wrote the Los Angeles chairperson Mills, "treated us splendidly." The Better America Federation, a super-patriotic organization based in Los Angeles that harrassed many left-wing groups in the 1920s seems not to have bothered with WILPF. There were disturbing reports during 1931 that the American Legion had voted to investigate all peace organizations and as one member reported, the American Legion was "continually harping on preparedness," but members could detect little more.²²

Only one group could directly trace its demise to outside opposition and that did not come, at least directly, from the American Legion. In 1936, when Alameda women organized a small branch, a Republican women's group branded them as Communists, their leaders Russians in the pay of Soviets. "This vicious talk scared out most of the timid



*Helen Marston,
1953.*

souls who had joined and the women who had accepted office resigned for fear of impairing their husband's positions," the organizer reported. Marston (now Beardsley) wrote from Los Angeles in 1936, "Even in San Diego where ultra-patriotism is rampant, we have never had a meeting interrupted." The chair had received some anonymous phone calls telling her that her activities would be stopped. "She has gone right on, of course" Marston concluded.²³

Even in the absence of severe external threats, branches had to have internal strength to survive. Although the national office continually worried about possible outside pressure, it put most of its confidence in good leadership. Pro-military groups could keep peace organizations out of towns such as Alameda, but where organizers persisted they survived. By 1926, the San Diego branch had fifty members. Marston was able to attract other young women to the group who were not intimidated by anonymous phone calls and who could

guide the group through boom and bust. Marston became state treasurer and while in Los Angeles for summer sessions courses, managed to get the financial affairs of the state organization in order.²⁴

Marston balanced national discipline and responsibility with local autonomy and creativity in exactly the way WILPF wanted. In her correspondence, she reported precisely what she was doing and how, and anticipated national decisions on pending legislation so that the branch could act in concert with the national even though letters and directives frequently arrived late. She offered thoughtful suggestions on organization, was clear on how to apply pacifist principles to complex and changing situations, and tried to develop tactics that would reach other groups as well as individuals. Although Marston avoided publicity she was an able strategist and a good tactician, spoke well, and could attract others to the cause. She was not a career leader and did not wish to lead nationally. In fact, she did not do well when attempting to or-

ganize in foreign territory in the West where WILPF had no local base, but she was an exemplary local and regional leader, the type that gave some WILPF locals a strong base.²⁵

The national gradually eased the older type of club women out of WILPF. National organizer Anne Martin later wrote she thought Cumberson was an old-fashioned type of club woman and younger energetic San Francisco women would not work with her even if interested in peace. There was a wide cleft between suffragists in San Francisco after the war. One part wanted to work within the new League of Women Voters in much the same way as club women had worked earlier. Another group supported the National Woman's Party and wanted to combine peace work with active work for legal equality in other areas, such as jury and probate rights. Martin, as a NWP member, undoubtedly wanted the WILPF to move in the latter direction and she successfully replaced Cumberson as state organizer early in 1930.²⁶

Even with Cumberson gone, some

areas in Northern California that had seemed politically progressive before the war did not respond to the attempts to organize women for peace. New organizers failed several times to establish a San Francisco branch. It never had more than a few members nor functioned for more than a few years at a time.²⁷

Diversity within the women's movement in San Francisco undoubtedly contributed to WILPF's difficulty. But even the smaller and more homogeneous Palo Alto branch found it difficult to survive. Palo Alto pacifists were the first in California to organize a separate WILPF branch after World War I. In April 1922, Park called together women from five peace organizations and with the support of Jessie Jordan formed the Palo Alto WILPF. The group then bravely embarked on a campaign to "Disarm the Nursery" by opposing the sale of military toys and participated in a "No More War" demonstration on Peace Day, July 28, the anniversary of the outbreak of World War I. Park enlisted girl and boy scouts to distribute posters, convinced officials of the Peninsular Railroad to put posters in street cars, and helped secure professors and community leaders to speak. At the meeting, sixty-five persons supported the outlawry of war and urged President Warren Harding and Congress to prevent aggressive war. The group continued active through the fall, discussing international affairs, admitting new members, distributing "Disarm the Nursery" pamphlets, and discussing peace books by Scott Nearing and Bertrand Russell. Then in November Park left on another extended trip. By this time, Jordan had also lost interest in the group, saying she did not care for WILPF's stand on "nonresistance." Although nonresistance, refusing to participate in war in any way, was the position of only a few members and the national

continued to keep the organization open to any woman who simply opposed future wars, some members apparently believed nonresistance might become the official policy. Annie Laurie Tait, the Palo Alto secretary, complained to the national late in December 1922, that the branch was "in a far from prosperous condition." During the spring of 1923, the group gradually faded. Meetings continued but there was little public activity. A peace essay contest held in the schools failed utterly when the only contestant did not comply with the rules. Then the chairman went on a vacation for two months and the League closed down. By November meetings seem to have lapsed. The chairman, now returned, was busy with her new home, wrote the secretary.²⁸

The group which met in 1924-1925 spent much of its time and energy erecting a peace fountain in a local park. It did hold public forums, however, purchased pamphlets denouncing anti-semitism, protested "Mobilization Day" and United States maneuvers in Hawaii, and opposed compulsory military training in state colleges. Although Palo Alto still listed twenty-five members in 1925, it is unlikely that many of them were active. The names of Jessie Jordan and several other inactive members were still on the list. The group managed to retain a presence through the 1920s, occasionally holding public forums and corresponding with the national on foreign policy, but the group never flourished.²⁹

There are no local minutes for the Palo Alto Branch in the 1930s and no correspondence with the national. The Palo Alto group was usually represented at the annual state meetings that began in 1929, but in 1933 Park was listed as secretary, the only officer. The state minutes of 1936 note that the Palo Alto branch was newly reorganized and had twenty-one members. When membership

reached its peak of fifty-three in September 1938, several other southern branches far outstripped it.³⁰

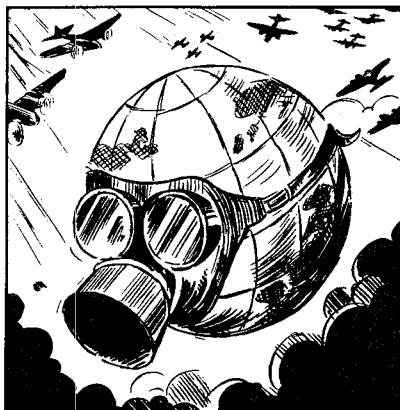
One exception to difficulty in organizing in Northern California was Berkeley. After having similar difficulties in starting in the 1920s, Berkeley WILPF began to grow in the late 1930s. By 1938, it had 185 members and was the second largest branch in the state. Unfortunately, no local minutes and little national correspondence exist for the Berkeley group.³¹

As far as the national was concerned, its strength lay in Southern California. While many of the northern branches languished, the Southern California branches seemed to flourish during the 1930s. The Los Angeles WILPF became the largest group, reaching a peak of 230 in June 1938. By 1932, the branch was so large that Pasadena women formed a separate group and by 1938, it alone had over forty members.³²

Marston had much to do with the success of WILPF in Southern California in the 1930s and in helping move progressive women into positions of leadership. By 1932, all of the branches, except for two smaller groups in Santa Maria and Ojai had new leadership based on progressive political commitment rather than women's clubs. Marston confessed to headquarters in 1932 that most groups had been doing little direct WILPF work because they were all out campaigning for Socialist presidential candidate Norman Thomas. Such Socialist leaders took WILPF groups into community organizing on labor and racial issues in the late 1930s and gave WILPF its first grass roots base.³³

Not all of the new leaders were young. Some, like Catherine Rumball, who headed the Santa Barbara

WAR AGAIN? NO!



The Pressure of Public Opinion Can Prevent War!
YOU ARE PUBLIC OPINION
What are you going to DO about it?

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

Founded by Jane Addams in 1915

"All women united against all war"

SWARTHMORE COLLEGE PEACE COLLECTION

California WILPF
circulated "War
Again? No!"
leaflets in 1939.

branch, were older Socialists who had a long record of community activity. Rumball took over chairmanship of the Santa Barbara branch in the 1930s and expanded it. Rumball had migrated from Rochester, New York, where she had worked along with her Unitarian minister husband with progressive reforms in the decade before World War I and had supported women workers in a clothing workers' strike of 1913. After the war, the Rumballs moved to Santa Barbara and by 1935 Catherine had developed a thriving WILPF branch. Ethelwyn Mills, head of the state organization in the 1930s, had a background similar to Rumball's, one rooted in progressive Christianity.³⁴

With leaders such as this, California WILPF gradually grew in membership and influence. At its peak in September 1938, it had over 1,000 members in the state, 900 of them in eleven active groups. At that time, the national, also at its peak, had only 16,000 members. Thus California was one of its most important states in terms of numbers and activities, and Los Angeles, its largest

branch, an important example of successful organizing.³⁵

That success, in part, was due to WILPF's recruitment of politically active members into its group. The growth of the Los Angeles WILPF to the leading center of the women's peace movement followed the growth of a left-wing movement in the 1930s. Traditionally, Los Angeles was a town controlled by anti-union businessmen, and unions did not gain a hold there until the 1930s when left-wing activism seemed to open up new avenues for political activity. Moderate middle class women had achieved some success in organizing women's groups in the 1890s, in part because the community was less divided by class and ethnicity than was San Francisco. The WPP, under the guidance of club women, had gained momentum during 1915. When this movement collapsed, as it did elsewhere in California in the face of the preparedness movement, it left a small group of women who supported WILPF and peace but had little organization. The ranks of individual women who supported peace

ranged from author Fanny Bixby Spencer, who wrote and published biting poems, plays, and essays against war, to Kate Gartz-Crane, heiress of the Crane plumbing fortune, known as a "Parlor Bolshevik," and a contributor of sizeable amounts of money to WILPF until she lost her income late in the 1930s.³⁶

In the late 1920s, as one Beverly Hills woman wrote to Emily Balch, WILPF seemed to be regarded as something "wild and dangerous." One 1925 list showed seventeen members, but the branch soon dwindled to inactivity and nothing was done until 1927, when WILPF sent Anne Martin to the Pacific Coast to organize. Martin recruited Ethelwyn Mills, the woman who was to help create a strong active group in Los Angeles. Mills, the daughter of a minister who was active in the YWCA and various peace and social justice movements, moved to Los Angeles in 1922 and joined WILPF in 1927. She headed the Los Angeles branch through its rebirth from 1927 to 1933 and became head of the state organization from 1930 to 1936.³⁷

Mills may have been symptomatic of the new southern rebirth of WILPF. She came from another state where she had already been active. Many other women also new to Los Angeles had WILPF contacts from other parts of the country. With their experience and commitment, and given the new political climate, the group grew rapidly. By Armistice Day 1928 the group was strong enough to stage a "Mass Meeting for Permanent Peace." Members boosted Fanny Bixby Spencer's anti-war play, "The Jazz of Patriotism" when it opened the next year and with the NAACP and other groups cosponsored more mass meetings. Los Angeles also sponsored the first Southern California Conference of WILPF in early 1929 and the first state conference in March 1930, which 225 women attended. From this time on, the Los Angeles branch became the focal point for the state. The branch organized mass meetings with well-known national speakers, mobilized a crowd of 5,000 to send off the woman's peace caravan that left from Griffith Park in Los Angeles in June 1931, and became increasingly involved in domestic justice movements. It supported labor and interracial activities, signed petitions, and provided visibility for WILPF in one of the most visible regions of the country. Los Angeles had its own printed bulletins from August 1935, to 1938 that offered information on the national and California branches, biographical sketches of members, reviews of books and movies, and strong support for issues of domestic justice. The Los Angeles branch hired the only paid worker in California, a secretary who worked on the peace mandate campaign for three months in 1935.³⁸

Leaders did not draw on respect-

able older club women for the Los Angeles group. Instead they drew from a liberal-left coalition of politically progressive women. Marston kept the Washington office informed as the Los Angeles branch moved left. Marston wrote to executive director Dorothy Detzer in 1932 that there were "a lot of freaks in the L.A. branch." She would later call them "cranks," but also many "splendid people." Marston wrote in March 1932, "With me it is not a question of W.I.L. being too radical. I have found some very out-and-out pacifists through our work. It is a question of being free to fit one's program to the local and current situation. It might be as mild as our basis for membership [opposition to war], or it might be war-resistance." Marston wrote later in the year, that Mills linked "the movement up with many fine and important people in the liberal and radical life of the city. If the group has been or seemed too left-wing to attract more club women as members, it nevertheless influences their activities." In March 1932, Marston wrote, "I think the California branch ought to be a strong force for Socialism this year, whatever else it is." Most of the chairs were working day and night for Norman Thomas, the pacifist Socialist peace candidate, she wrote.³⁹

The national leaders supported this move left. Detzer replied that she was glad socialist members were now heading the momentarily revived San Francisco branch. "Working for the socialist cause has not helped the W.I.L.," Detzer continued, "but I am perfectly convinced in my own mind that there is nothing so important for peace. I have come back from Europe quite a 'rip-roaring,' snorting, revolutionary socialist, and find myself slightly hampered by the limitations of peace work." Marston, at this time was herself helping to organize a citizen's unemployment committee and was

secretary for the San Diego Socialist Party local.⁴⁰

Marston continually urged the national to make the relationship between peace and social justice a more visible part of WILPF political theory. She advocated a strategy by which active participation in social change would provide concrete examples of how to achieve change without violence. They must, she wrote, make more emphatic their "recognition of social injustice and the need of revolutionary social changes, especially since we do make so explicit our belief in pacific as over against violent methods of effecting such changes." The groups, wrote Marston, should study the economic bases of society "to quicken within our own membership the sense of social injustice, to interpret conflict and changes as they occur, and to stimulate participation in movements of social change. Only by such participation can we hope to contribute toward the development of a technique of labor and mass movements of a pacific nature. If justice can be gained without violence, it is up to us to prove it." In a later letter she returned to the theme of broadening the membership base: "I am anxious to make the policies speak a language that ordinary people understand. It seems to me that it is a part of the positive aspect of pacifism to try to *meet people's minds*, and that one of the reasons why we fail to appeal to good and peace-loving people is because we often adopt a sort of intransigent attitude and a vocabulary which, though it is dear to us, doesn't always convey to others our meaning because of some emotional reaction they have when they hear those phrases."⁴¹

Pacifism rooted in social justice issues drew Marston increasingly into labor conflicts in Southern California. In spring, 1934, Marston had her most dramatic confrontation with large employers of migrant laborers

The Pasadena Peace Council and WILPF sponsored this lecture by Senator Gerald P. Nye, Chairman of the Senate Munitions Committee, in 1935.

SWARTHMORE PEACE COLLECTION



SENATOR GERALD P. NYE

Chairman of Senate Munitions
Investigation Committee

LECTURE:

WAR, MUNITIONS AND NEUTRALITY

Auspices of Pasadena Peace Council and Women's International
League for Peace and Freedom

SHAKESPEARE CLUB HOUSE
230 S. Los Robles Avenue, Pasadena

FRIDAY, DEC. 20, 8 P.M.

TICKETS 55 Cents (including tax)

ON SALE
VROMAN'S BOOK STORE, 329 East Colorado St.
THE BROWN SHOP, 190 East Colorado St.

when her work with the ACLU drew her into labor conflict in the Imperial Valley six times to help mediate strikes. The most dramatic visit came in February when the ACLU was attempting to mediate a grim struggle between striking pea pickers and growers. The pickers wanted to organize a union; the growers were determined to keep the workers unorganized. The ACLU obtained a court injunction to keep growers from preventing pickers organizing. Marston and other ACLU and WILPF members monitored the meeting held by the pickers to see that it remained peaceful and in the hands of the workers. They kept the ranchers, who came in their white suits and panama hats, from disrupting the meeting. With the meeting over, Marston and her friend and fellow WILPF member Ettalie Wallace headed back to San Diego alone, followed by ranchers who heckled them, and harassed them by bumping their car. Marston calmly stopped at a gas station, called the sheriff, talked to the men (Wallace offered them candy), and convinced the men

to allow them to return safely to San Diego. In a newspaper report later Marston wrote, that it was a pity "that the harassed owners of the smaller ranches could not see that they have more in common with these men and women who are staking all in their effort to provide food for the children, than they have with the great many interests that control the larger ranches." To the *Wellesley Sequel* she wrote that she had found "that even the Bill of Rights may be red revolution to wrought-up California ranchers, and a strikers' meeting out on the desert a most memorable experience."⁴²

In 1935, Marston married and moved to Los Angeles, joining the freaks, cranks, and splendid people in the WILPF there. She and other new Los Angeles members made it the fastest growing WILPF in the country, with a 183 percent increase in 1934-35. The Los Angeles branch continued to emphasize social justice, supporting bills against lynching and for migratory field workers, domestic workers, and pecan shellers on strike in Texas, maintained

friendly relations with the CIO, and sent representatives to a mass meeting of longshoremen in a lockout in San Pedro. They lobbied in Sacramento and telegraphed Washington. Social justice, the leaders believed, would lead larger groups to non-violent change.⁴³

The largest direct peace initiative of the Los Angeles WILPF was participation in the 1935 Peace Mandate Campaign. The goal was to obtain one million signatures to a demand that each government favoring the Kellogg-Briand pact act on that commitment by decreasing armaments and armed forces, using existing machinery for peaceful settlement of conflicts, and securing international agreements to end the economic anarchy that WILPF believed bred war. The chair of the Los Angeles mandate committee, Mildred Thanhouser, former head of the Wisconsin Suffrage Association, launched the campaign with 11,000 signatures. Other California branches also did well on this campaign, helping to send a total of almost 35,000 signatures to Washington.⁴⁴

Branches held a series of large mass meetings after 1935. San Diego attracted 2,400, San Francisco 2,000, Berkeley 500. A series of lectures by Senator Gerald Nye was particularly successful in drawing thousands of listeners to meetings throughout the state. By 1939, leaflets were warning of a world at war.⁴⁵

The anti-war movement in California, as elsewhere, peaked in 1938. As Europe joined in war, members began to urge WILPF to move toward principles of collective security and support for the European nations that opposed Germany. Across the country, WILPF branches voted on the position they would take. At a state convention in 1938, California leaders voted twenty-nine to twenty-one against endorsing collective security. Failing in their attempt to move WILPF, many members began to withdraw. The Depression with its sharpening of class consciousness had already made some of the wealthy members less willing to support an organization that questioned a system that created their wealth and increasingly emphasized social justice. Interracial councils were a concern of the most progressive groups in Los Angeles, Berkeley, and San Diego. But war was the issue that loomed and pacifism the ideology that divided most women. San Diego alone reported the loss of forty members because of ideology in 1940. At the annual council meeting for 1940, the Palo Alto and San Francisco branches together counted only thirty-five members. By mid-1940, California had lost almost a third of its membership; by October 1941, fewer than half were left. Reflecting local defections, by 1946 the national had dropped to 4,000, only 25 percent of its former peak of 16,000.⁴⁶

Marston-Beardsley chronicled her despair as the remaining oldtimers watched the war pull members away from their cause. The departure of newer members simply reflected the move toward war. Marston-Beardsley wrote to Dorothy Detzer on May 28, 1940, after listening to the 9 p.m. news and the President's defense speech, "It marked the turning point in a great movement backward and downward. Now *we* concentrate on the destructive. The drive against 'fifth columnists' is going to be whipped up here in the usual Los Angeles spirit." She wrote again on September 24, "I realize more poignantly than before the revolution through which we have passed this summer. How much we have lost already!"⁴⁷

A small band of committed pacifists worked with WILPF through the war. WILPF sought protection for conscientious objectors, continued its interracial work, attempted to guard against persecution of the Japanese, and helped refugees from Europe. Most groups held no public meetings. Marston-Beardsley realized that old members such as herself could give WILPF stability in these hard times. She continued to give \$250 a year to WILPF in addition to her volunteer work. And she searched for new ideas to achieve growth in the postwar period. Marston-Beardsley wrote to Balch in February 1946, "New techniques are needed, in all the peace movement. I know there should be more coordination of effort." The local WILPF groups would never become more effective units in the peace movement unless new steps were taken to reorganize: "I am sure we must take them if we are to keep alive and make our contribution. The most important is one you pointed out . . . some time ago,—the need of attracting younger women."⁴⁸

Marston-Beardsley did not immediately act to achieve these goals

after the war. Her father was ill and she hesitated to leave Southern California for board meetings in the East or for international meetings. Her father died on May 31, 1946, and her husband ten days later. She attended the International WILPF Congress in Copenhagen in 1949, continued to be active in the ACLU, and worked for disarmament in the 1950s. "The deep demands of the peace movement at this time of peril use up most of my limited time and energy, and prompt even writing flyers and giving them out on street corners! I've learned what it feels like to be snubbed," she wrote to her Wellesley alumni magazine in 1958. Her statement contrasted with those of her fellow classmates who wrote of knitting, grandchildren, the Dartmouth-Yale game, garden talks and occasional social welfare work.⁴⁹

After returning to San Diego in 1960, Marston-Beardsley revived the moribund WILPF and helped found a peace center at San Diego State University. She worked with students, draftees, and farm workers, marched in anti-war demonstrations. And she wrote letters. She was delighted when her name appeared on Nixon's enemy list in the 1970s. By 1981, she lived again at the family house with her three older sisters—aged 101, 96, and 91—and went out only to attend WILPF meetings. She died in 1982 at 89.⁵⁰

What was Marston like, I asked her old friends Etallie Wallace and Florence Stevens. Wallace, who had worked with her in WILPF in the 1930s and attended Socialist Party meetings with her in an old storefront headquarters below Fifth Avenue in San Diego, replied: "She was a lady on the inconspicuous side, but was always there to be counted and was always knowledgeable about things." Stevens called her "shy, but determined and decisive."⁵¹

Marston-Beardsley was almost the ideal pacifist volunteer. Well edu-

The Los Angeles WILPF, which supported a referendum on war in 1940, urged the public to write to Congressmen and to President Roosevelt asking for a war referendum bill.

SWARTHMORE PEACE COLLECTION

VOTE BEFORE WAR

MAY 31 1940

War, in all its terror and destruction, rages in Europe and Asia

Will the United States be drawn in?
Must we again sacrifice our sons and wealth?
Or Can We Keep America Out?

Whatever your answer,
don't you want a chance to vote on it?

Don't you think that the people who are going to do the dying and paying should have a voice in the decision?

THE AMERICAN WAY

Bills providing for a VOTE OF THE PEOPLE before this country can go into a foreign war have been introduced into Congress. This vote is called the WAR REFERENDUM. It's Democracy in action. It's the American way.

BUT—

If you want a vote-before-war bill, you are going to have to do something about it—YOU and thousands like you.
Nothing but PRESSURE of PUBLIC OPINION can make the War Referendum a law. And YOU are public opinion.

It Is Later Than You Think
Your Country Is Nearer War Than You Think
But You Can Still Do Something About It

You can write four brief letters:

(1) To the President The President, The White House, Washington, D. C. Dear Mr. President:	(2) To your Congressman House Office Bldg., Washington D. C.
(3) To Senator Hiram Johnson Senate Office Bldg., Washington, D. C.	(4) To Senator Sheridan Downey Senate Office Bldg., Washington, D. C.

Just say you want a vote-before-war bill passed before Congress adjourns; or say you prefer to decide yourself about such an important matter as dying in a foreign field or piling up debts for your grandchildren to pay. Your own words are best. Even one line is enough.

BUT DO IT NOW. TOMORROW MAY BE TOO LATE.

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Los Angeles Branch
2836 W. Eighth St., Los Angeles

cated and articulate, a lady, able to work hard, but self-effacing. Hers was a generation that took WILPF through the years between two major wars, certainly strengthened the non-military aspects of the United States, and linked peace to social justice in more concrete ways than had ever been done. She symbolized a generation that moved from an abstract commitment to peace, toward activism in the cause of peace, and began to define domestic social justice as necessary for national security. Marston summed up that change when, in January 1942, she wrote: "Within the nation, we believe the national defense means the strengthening of all the elements of genuine democracy such as freedom of speech and protection of minorities, economic and interracial justice, public health and mental hygiene, and education directed toward cooperation and responsibility."⁵²

One weakness remained, the inability of WILPF to attract young women to the group. While Marston and other WILPF leaders saw race, class, and free speech as elemental,

they did not see women's issues as particularly relevant. Suffrage, which they had supported, enabled them to work equally with men on whatever cause they liked. They assumed women had an interest in peace and a natural opposition to war and could organize together on that basis. At the beginning of 1920 Emily Balch had listed four reasons why women needed their own peace organizations: as non-combatants they were freer to work for peace during war; as caretakers and educators of children they had a unique set of perceptions; women were concerned about morals, health and social welfare; and women had greater freedom in separate organizations. Other leaders identified women as the "custodians of life," the "mother" half of the human race that should be consulted on the life of the nation, and as an excluded group that could offer new methods for the democratic control of foreign policy. But during these years WILPF avoided discussing issues that explicitly related to women. WILPF assumed women would oppose war and that

issues of social justice concerning other groups would attract them. WILPF did not explain exactly what women had to lose from war and militarism.⁵³

Marston posed the question. How could WILPF reorganize to attract young women? Neither she nor WILPF developed an answer to that question. WILPF did not develop a feminist pacifist ideology that went beyond the assumption that women would be more opposed to war than men. Leaders did not ask those questions posed by later feminist scholars. What is the interconnection between male domination and war? What is the relationship between violence in the private and public spheres? How are concepts of equality, inalienable rights, and sisterhood affected by war? Does an unequal distribution of power to women in American society increase militarism? Marston's generation would leave younger women to search for answers to those questions. CHS

See notes beginning on page 147.

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WELLS FARGO BANK

CALIFORNIA HISTORY

REVIEWS

Edited by James J. Rawls

Afro-Americans in California.

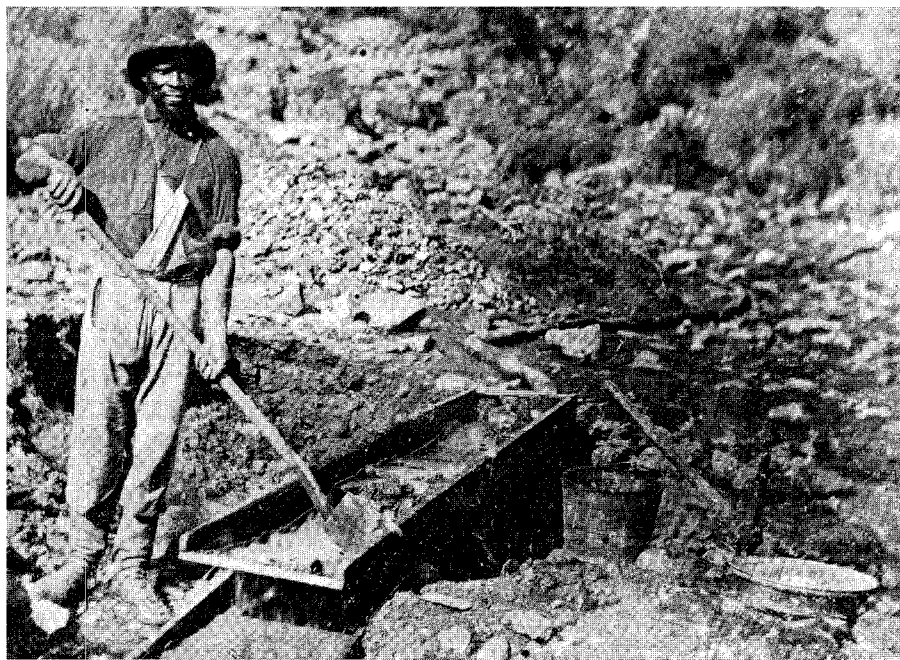
By Rudolph Lapp. (San Francisco: Boyd and Fraser Publishing Co., 1987. 112 pp. \$7.95.)

Reviewed by Douglas Henry Daniels,
Department of Black Studies, University
of California, Santa Barbara.

A considerably expanded revision of the 1979 edition, Lapp's work introduces readers to the historical and contemporary figures, institutions, and trends of Black California from the eighteenth to the late twentieth centuries. Westward migration, community formation, ghetto growth, job patterns, racial discrimination, politics, civil rights, and the Black family figure in the presentation. It is one of a number of works in the Golden Gate Series on ethnic minorities, women, labor, education, and politics and promises interpretive insights instead of definitive conclusions.

The book's strengths consist of its covering a broad span of time and its discussion of many trends and topics; its linking national issues, racial uplift, and reform efforts to California struggles and society; and its attempt to document the gradually declining racism of white Californians and the progress of the state's largely urban Black population. Occasionally the focus meanders, with nineteenth-century matters mingled with contemporary ones in the later chapters, and the tendency to focus on any subject which might be of interest is bothersome, but there are other more serious problems.

Lapp's work sheds light on the mindset of many scholars of Afro-America who cannot penetrate the fundamental contradictions of California or American society. The author reveals little understanding of white racism. His analysis fails to explain why whites were so protective of slavery and opposed to Blacks voting in a "free" state, or why Afro-Americans constituted a disproportionate percentage of the unemployed, or why the convict, George, and his brother,



The gold rush attracted the first black settlers to California. Like other goldseekers, they tried to strike it rich. Shown is a black miner working a placer deposit near Auburn, c. 1852. CHS Collections.

Jonathan Jackson, and Watts rioters acted with such desperation.

Progress in race relations is assumed to be significant when it occurs. It is perhaps to Lapp's credit that when he documents Afro-American victories, he also presents contrary evidence that blunts the thrust of his argument, and, moreover, he shrinks from assessing the significance of this dilemma. How does this situation differ from that of Blacks in New York or Texas? Such a question goes unanswered. Also, conceptual clichés abound: "middle class" is applied to janitors, waiters, and domestics; "ghetto" to housing patterns that differ considerably from Harlem or the South Side; "charismatic" to influential Black activists or successful politicians; "anti-white" to leaders and organizations which were actually only pro-Black.

Some historians will wonder about the neglect of the dominant nineteenth-century journalist and spokesman, Philip A. Bell. Surely some readers will be offended by an author who attributes the death of George Jackson to a "shootout" and falsely colors the circumstances of his brother's tragic demise by likening

it to a "wild west scenario." Lapp displays the insensitivity of a society which blames its victims when he writes of the Watts rioters that they "killed (or caused to be killed) thirty-four persons . . . mostly Black" (79)—thus relieving the police and civic officials of any responsibility for these deaths or the destruction of property.

These problems of fact and interpretation come into focus when Lapp unwittingly reveals his distance from and lack of understanding of his subject by concluding that despite progress in race relations, "white hypocrisy (real or imagined) was still lurking in the background" (103). The Black unemployed, the East Oakland infants whose mortality rate is one of the highest in the nation, and the slaves who lived on the edge of liberty in a free state deserve another kind of interpretive framework to elucidate the nature of their history and complex situation. The author correctly acknowledges that a great deal of research and new strategies are necessary to interpret properly the subject of this volume. □

*An American Odyssey:
The Autobiography of a
19th-Century Scotsman,
Robert Brownlee, At the
Request of His Children.
Napa County, California,
October 1892.*

Edited by Patricia A. Etter. (Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 1986. 237 pp., \$23.00 cloth, \$12.00 paper.)

Reviewed by Kenneth N. Owens, Professor of History and Director of the Capital Campus Public History Program, California State University, Sacramento.

As he was concluding this reminiscent account of his life and adventures, Robert Brownlee set down his claims upon the good regard of his posterity. He wanted to be remembered as "one who never owed but if justly due, paid it immediately." He never had been party to a law suit nor to a quarrel which occasioned blows, Brownlee declared, and "was always able to take my own part." Scots to the core, this upright, honest fellow at age eighty toiled with pen and ink to give his children and grandchildren a permanent record of the adventures of his youth, emphasizing particularly his experiences as a '49er during the California gold rush. A careful observer, with his eye for detail undimmed by time, Brownlee set down his life story plainly and vividly. We are fortunate now to have his memoir carefully prepared for publication by Patricia Etter, an experienced scholar and a distant descendant of this roving boy from the Scottish lowlands.

Brownlee sailed from Scotland in 1836, at age twenty-three, arrived in New York, then followed his trade as a stone mason first by helping construct North Carolina's Capitol building, next by taking a similar job in the frontier state of Arkansas. When the construction boom

subsided in Little Rock, he tried farming for a while, and in 1848 made a brief effort at lead mining until a mine explosion nearly took his life. He was still recuperating from his injuries at Christmastime when he learned of the recent California gold discoveries. Immediately Brownlee determined to leave for California as soon as he was well enough. In March of 1849 he joined a party known as the Little Rock and California Mining Association, which travelled from Fort Smith along the Southern Trail through the Indian Territory, New Mexico, and Arizona, reached the Yuma River in late July, and made the summertime desert crossing to Warner's Ranch without great hardship.

Once in California, Brownlee established himself at the southern Mother Lode camp of Agua Fria, where he and his partners ran a store by day and a gambling hall by night, both in the same quarters. It is his description of life and times at Agua Fria during the mining boom that has greatest general interest, for Brownlee provides us with a series of social vignettes that flesh out our knowledge of that extraordinary time and place. In 1850, he claims, California possessed in proportion to population "more intelligence, more industry and law abiding principles than any other portion of the world." The reason, Brownlee continues, is that in 1849 "none but the better class of citizens could manage to raise funds to get here—the wealthy man or the preacher's son." This idyll ended, so Brownlee recalled, when Australian convicts and "the Evil world from the East" began to arrive. Yet he also declares that even in 1850 among the gambling crowd "pretty much everybody had his Colts revolver of the large size in his belt or sash," another powerful reason for good conduct.

Brownlee's account concludes with a brief narrative of his later life, which included a trip back to Arkansas to claim a bride, a sentimental return visit with his family in Scotland, and forty years

of settled success as a farmer in the Napa Valley, an occupation he began "without the least knowledge of managing, or how it should be done." Through all his recital, the author displays the same good sense and decent sensibilities that marked his gold rush adventures, coupled obviously with a native Scot's regard for turning an honest dollar. As revealed in his own words, Robert Brownlee epitomizes that type of sturdy, enterprising person who, after the gold rush excitement had begun to subside, built California's new society on a bedrock of granite.

With a minimum of fuss, Patricia Etter has done an excellent job in bringing to print her ancestor's words. Her research is exceptionally thorough, her scholarship unobtrusive, and she can give a confident assurance that at age eighty Brownlee retained an accurate memory of his adventurous years. Her own enterprise, moreover, has been served well by the University of Arkansas Press, which has done a commendable job of publishing. Not simply another account of overland travel, *An American Odyssey* places an interesting and admirable character into the historical literature related to California's gold rush era. □

*Dogtown and Ditches:
Life on the Westside.*

By Wayne Pimental (Los Banos: Loose Change Publications 1987. 133 pp. \$18.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Robert G. Fricke, Instructor of History at West Valley College, Saratoga, California

Local history is the framework in which to practice cultural history in an attempt to understand an area's distinctive style. Also, local history is, despite its limited geographical focus, a broad field of inquiry; it is the political, social and economic history of a community, and religious and intellectual history,

too. Wayne Pimental's *Dogtown and Ditches* meets both criteria for a local history.

The book covers, in detail, the upper west side of the San Joaquin Valley from the Yokut Indian inhabitants to the early 1900s. The emphasis is on the numerous small communities, the stories surrounding the figures in and development of these communities. The author assumes that the reader has an in-depth knowledge of California history when he refers briefly to such significant California figures as William Ralston, Isaac Friedlander, and Claus Spreckels, all of whom have had some impact on the development of the Westside.

The two major figures that the book covers adequately are Henry Miller and Charles Lux. In fact, in addition to a major chapter on Miller and Lux, their influence on the economic development of the area is covered adequately in a number of other chapters.

The writing style is typical of most local histories, that is, simplistic and unsophisticated. Mr. Pimental refers to a notable, James Toscano, as a "prime mover for a sewer service" and the chapter, "Changing World on the Westside" opens with this sentence: "The world was changing and so it was on the Westside of the Valley." The writing typifies "just plain folks."

There are a number of worthwhile features of this local history publication. The author covers extensively the political, economic and social history of a major community, Los Banos. He uses effectively oral history and local folklore in describing life on the Westside. There is considerable interesting information on the development of wheat farming, canals, and irrigation. A really outstanding asset of *Dogtown and Ditches* is the large number of fascinating photographs. Indeed, photographs are another important source of information about a locality. Photographs have much to teach us; we can observe dress, the makeup of family rooms, housing styles, fashions and genre living.

Mr. Pimental is currently working on the companion volume to *Dogtown and Ditches*. It is to be hoped that this volume will be organizationally less fragmented and more sophisticated in writing style.

□

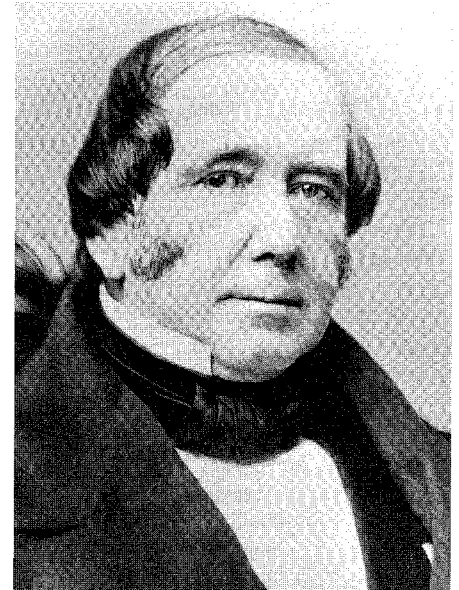
Authorized By No Law: The San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1856 and the United States Circuit Court for the Districts of California.

By John D. Gordan, III. (Pasadena: Ninth Judicial Circuit Historical Society, and San Francisco: United States District Court for the Northern District of California Historical Society, 1987. 71 pp., \$7.00 paper.)

Reviewed by Robert M. Senkewicz, S.J., Assistant Professor of History at Santa Clara University and author of *Vigilantes in Gold Rush San Francisco* (1986).

One of the anomalies of the San Francisco Vigilance Committee of 1856, the largest such extralegal movement in American history, was that while it operated it left the city's legal system remarkably undisturbed. The charter of the organization denounced "the quibbles of the law" and "the laxity of those who pretend to administer justice." Yet the courts continued to meet, land litigation continued to be heard, and people continued to be convicted of crimes.

The reason for this was that the vigilantes' focus was not crime at all, but rather politics. They were interested not so much in cleansing the city streets of common criminals, but in reforming, as they would have put it, the city government. They successfully attacked the local political operation of future Democratic Senator David C. Broderick. The



Matthew McAllister (1800–1865) arrived in San Francisco in 1850. An able lawyer, he was appointed U.S. Circuit Judge in 1855, serving until the year before his death. He presided over some of the most prominent cases to reach the federal courts, including many of the difficult land claim cases. CHS Collections.

harried merchants who formed the backbone of the committee were confident that once they had asserted their power and had begun to install their own political officials under the banner of their "People's Party" the courts would inevitably follow their lead. They were correct.

John D. Gordan, III, a partner in the law firm of Lord, Day, and Lord, has written a brief and informative account of how the most august court in the city, the United States Circuit Court for the Districts of California, confronted some of the issues stemming from urban vigilantism.

The court encountered the committee of vigilance as a result of an incident on the night of June 21, 1856. A boatload of vigilante police intercepted a schooner bearing arms for the anti-vigilance "law and order" party as the weapons were being transported from the federal arsenal at Benecia to San Francisco. On the next day, a scuffle broke out in the city when the vigilance committee detached

some of its men to apprehend the law and order boatmen. In the melee, California Supreme Court Justice David Terry stabbed a vigilante policeman. Terry was taken into vigilante custody and put on trial at their headquarters, "Fort Gunnybags."

Circuit Judge Matthew Hall McAllister, relying, according to Gordan, on discredited precedents, issued a writ of habeas corpus for Terry, even though the justice was not imprisoned under the authority of the United States. However, probably by design, the writ was not served until the day after Terry had been released and so it had no practical effect.

In the fall, Judge McAllister presided over the piracy trial of John L. Durkee, the vigilante who had commanded the force which had intercepted the arms. The significance of the trial lay not in the verdict of innocence, which was a foregone conclusion, but in the fact that this was the first instance in which the federal piracy statutes were applied to a domestic insurrection. As such, the Durkee trial was an interesting foretaste of a problem which would occupy the federal courts on a number of occasions during the Civil War.

Gordan tells his story well. He incorporates recent research on gold rush San Francisco, and his legal scholarship is presented clearly enough so that even a non-lawyer (like the present reviewer!) can follow it easily. The well-chosen illustrations add detail and spice to the account. This book is a fine contribution on a little-known but important aspect of San Francisco vigilantism. □

California Legacy: The James Alexander Watson-Maria Dolores Dominguez de Watson Family, 1820-1980.

By Judson A. Grenier, with Robert C. Gillingham. (Carson, California: Watson Land Company, 1987. 519 pp., \$25.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by Leonard Pitt, Professor of History at California State University, Northridge, editor of California Controversies (2d edn., 1987), and author of Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846-1890 (1968).

The term "family history" does poor justice to this work. This volume combines the history of gringo adventurer James A. Watson, the huge Dominguez family into which he married, and several major corporations thereafter controlled by the combined Watson-Dominguez clan. Inevitably it also becomes the economic history of the entire southern portion of Los Angeles County in the last century-and-a-half.

Professor Judson Grenier devotes about half of the space to tracking "Colonel Jack" Watson from Texas to the California gold fields and finally to Los Angeles. A prominent duelist, attorney, and "Chivalry" Democrat, Watson served in the state legislature in the stormy pre-Civil War days.

The Dominguez family owned Rancho San Pedro, a princely estate that today hosts the communities of Wilmington, Carson, Compton and Redondo Beach. Grenier shows how this Yankee-Californio family managed—in the face of natural disasters, personality clashes, litigation, death and taxes, and the shifting tides of the local economy—not only to hold onto much of its land, but to prosper even after they sold off large portions of it. Where once cattle roamed on a thousand hills there are today oil wells and refineries, factories and shopping malls.

This is truly a definitive study. The research, based chiefly on extensive business and family records deposited at California State University Dominguez Hills, as well as sources at the Huntington Library and elsewhere, is exhaustive. The copious journals of attorney Henry O'Melveny, the leading financial advisor to the family, provide a mainstay for the latter part of the book. Grenier

also combed census and land records, newspapers, books and pamphlets, and conducted numerous personal interviews. And by culling many family albums he produced a set of photos that are rich in detail.

The writing is clear and crisp, and the organization sound. The major weakness, typical of many commissioned family and business histories, is the tendency to overload the narrative with details about even obscure relations and spin-off corporations, sometimes to the point of confusion. Evidently a cardinal rule in these works is to omit no relative or corporate director from the roll call. The author, a seasoned scholar and writer, offsets the effect by interjecting strategically placed recapitulations and genealogical references.

Why did this Californio family succeed financially where others failed? Can we ever know as much about *non-elite* families? What is the process of acculturation that works for some and not others? These are some of the questions raised in the mind of the reader of this extensive and profusely researched work that will serve as a model "family" history for years to come. □

Bacon, Beans, and Galantines: Food and Foodways on the Western Mining Frontier.

By Joseph R. Conlin. (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1986. 246 pp., \$27.50 cloth.)

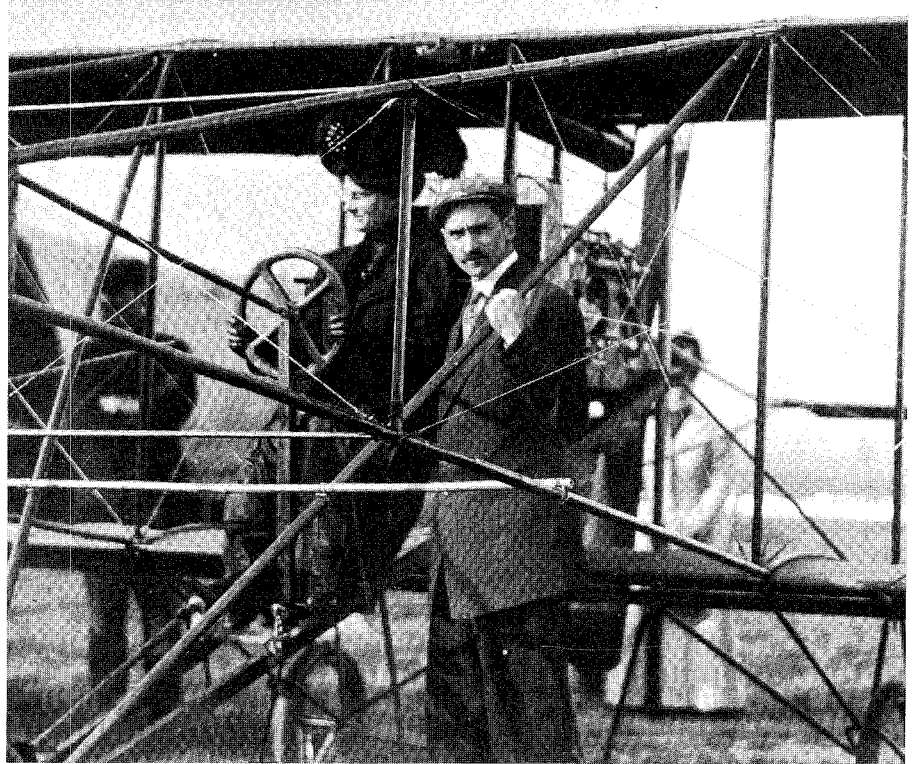
Reviewed by David Rich Lewis, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

When dealing with the settlement of the American West, few historians stop to consider how and what individuals ate as they conquered their corner of the continent. Food and the process of preparation, service, and consumption are taken for granted as automatic occur-

rences necessary to sustain life, and "too trivial" for systematic investigation. As Joseph R. Conlin points out, "... food is third only to air and water as a basis of life and, much more than the others, is an important element of culture and social relationships," (p. x). In this informative book, Conlin sets out to describe the food and foodways of miners in the American West between 1849 and 1914.

Although Conlin's history purports to cover the "western mining frontier," the majority of his work focuses on the foodways of white California miners, and on the non-corporate mining of gold and silver. Examples from Nevada, Idaho, Colorado, Arizona, Alaska, and even Utah are sprinkled through the pages but serve to elaborate points made about California rather than to give a full picture of foodways elsewhere. Likewise, ethnicity and ethnic foodways receive little attention. In particular, the overland trail and sea voyage experiences of "forty-niners" bound for the gold fields comprise virtually one-third of the book. Conlin does an excellent job of describing the basic food stuffs carried and consumed by the California argonauts as well as a valuable nutritive analysis of their diets, on the trail, on ships, and in the mining regions. His discussion of disease caused by nutritional deficiencies in diet among western miners—particularly scurvy, a vitamin C deficiency resulting from the lack of fruits and vegetables—is welcome, although admittedly inferential.

While salt pork, beans, breads, and various fresh and preserved meats were the staples of the early overlanders and miners, Conlin suggests that miners rapidly developed a palate for more exotic fare, particularly galantine oysters, French *haut cuisine*, fine wines and champagnes, and later to Chinese food—partially due to the social status attached to fine foods, the amount of disposable wealth, and the taste and nutritive content of those foods. Conlin's investigation of food leads him to discuss the transportation and marketing networks



Early aviation pioneer Glenn H. Curtiss (1878–1930) and his wife at the first international gathering of aircraft and flyers held at Dominguez Field near Los Angeles in 1910. California Historical Society/Ticor Collection.

which arose to supply western mining camps, the establishment of restaurants, the nature of boarding arrangements, and the economics of food sales in the mining West. Throughout his narrative, Conlin sprinkles comments on the social and cultural elements of food and eating, but he might have taken more heed of the anthropological structures he dismisses in the introduction.

Conlin's narrative is free-flowing, topical, and well spiced with quotations. He has used a wide variety of published and manuscript diaries and reminiscences, newspapers, travel-logs, as well as photographs and secondary sources. Readers will glean many important aspects of social organization in the non-corporate mining frontier from these pages well beyond foodways while gaining a better understanding of the practical realities of cooking and eating on the frontier. □

California Wings: A History of Aviation in the Golden State.

By William A. Schoneberger with Paul Sonnenburg. (Woodland Hills, CA: Windsor Publications, Inc., 1984. 189 pp., \$24.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by William L. Cumiford, Curator of History at the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.

Released four years ago by Windsor Publications, *California Wings* is an oversized volume tracing the history of flight in California from turn-of-the-century experimental dirigibles and gliders to the military testing centers and space labs of the 1980s. Out of necessity this glossy edition offers merely a narrative outline of the state's aviation saga. In under two hundred pages the author compresses early achievements in flight

as a backdrop to topics ranging from manufacturing, education, research, military aviation, and the airlines, to the many support facilities connected with airlines and aircraft.

In Part One, entitled, "Beginnings," Schoneberger elucidates the pioneering spirit exhibited by early California aviators and their supporters. The author justifiably argues that the state became a haven for air shows, flying contests, and entrepreneurship in early aircraft design and construction. In fact, the opening three chapters comprising Part One engage the reader's attention as Schoneberger vividly describes the many facets of the California landscape and lifestyle which attracted aviation innovators to the state.

However, in Parts Two and Three, respectively called "Builders" and "Operators," the author plunges into a maze of institutions, personalities, and detailed statistics on aircraft models and designs that has the unfortunate effect of overwhelming the general reader. While aircraft *aficionados* may peruse these sections with ease, aviation neophytes may find the complex histories of airline company mergers and manufacturers' travails somewhat tedious.

Part of the problem in keeping one's attention firmly riveted to these institutional litanies is the author's propensity to record something on virtually *every* company in California that ever manufactured aircraft or operated an airline. Fortunately, Schoneberger gets back on track in the closing thirty or forty pages by highlighting such absorbing topics as the role of women in California aviation, and Hollywood's use of historic aeronautical episodes in some significant film productions. The book gains strength as it departs from "company" history and focuses on subjects uniquely Californian in tone and flavor.

The photographs, though abundant, do not eclipse the text. Moreover, Windsor's photo reproduction and general lay-out work is superb. The extensive bibliography could have been bolstered

by more personal interviews, since textual references clearly establish the author's familiarity with California aviation VIPs. As with any technical study, however general, the inclusion of a glossary would greatly facilitate a clearer reading of the text. Finally, several brief appendices would prove a much more convenient format for presenting detailed statistics on aircraft dimension and design, production quotas, company mergers and liquidations, and a host of other technical data.

As a summary of a difficult and compelling topic, *California Wings* tells an interesting story of a unique and important segment in California's history. Significantly, it is not merely a rehashing of the lives of pioneer fliers, but reaches beyond the popular romantic themes of aviation to illuminate a vast technological and industrial enterprise central to the economic and social vitality of the Golden State. □

Indians of the Feather River: Tales and Legends of Concow Maidu of California.

By Donald P. Jewell. (Menlo Park, CA, Ballena Press, 1987. vi, 184 pp., \$12.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Lee Davis, Director of the California Indian Project, Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

Indians of the Feather River is part local history and part local ethnography, a book about the Concow Maidu Indians written from conversations between the author and his Concow friends in the 1950s and 1960s. Unfortunately these compiled essays, first published in a local newspaper, have not been sufficiently edited for narrative flow as a book. Uneven credit is also given to the Indian sources of information. Sometimes Jewell attributes his accounts to

individuals as in the chapter "Making Babies" (Ch. 3). Sometimes he merely uses the frustrating phrases, "It is said that" (Ch. 4), "The Concow claim that" and "The story is told that" (Ch. 24). The undocumented sections were unnecessary because Jewell knew the sources. With organized and contextualized editing, this book would have been a better literary work and a more valuable documented history. The subtitle is also misleading. The book is not about the folklore of Concow tales and legends but is half history and half a description of cultural customs.

On the other hand, *Indians of the Feather River* captures an under-recorded time, place, and people. Jewell worked with California Indians in the decades after World War II when the common academic wisdom was that Native Californians knew nothing worthwhile about their culture (we know better in the 1980s). Jewell talked to traditional people, a social category recognized among every tribe in California. Most of his Concow friends are now gone and Jewell's writing is their legacy.

For the historian this book offers the hard-to-find Indian perspective on the brittle glory of early California history, the genocide, the forced dispersal of families, the covert revenge by angry Concow, the dependency of homeless refugees who traded their cultural integrity for General Bidwell's *noblesse oblige* protection, as well as brief biographies of those nineteenth century white men whom the Concow remembered for their help and friendship.

While the stories of early Concow history are horrors, the survival of their culture is recorded with appreciative simplicity: the continuing use of the sacred Roundhouse, the moral leadership of the *yeponi* headman, and the cherishing of the landscape invisible to outsiders, with its subsistence habitats and power places. Jewell also includes a literary classic by Frank Day, a Concow traditional person now gone but still revered. Day hand-wrote his tribe's origin

myth in stunning English poetry.

The drawbacks in style and scholarship of this book are unfortunate, because they were not necessary. However in terms of its valuable content, *Indians of the Feather River* is worthwhile for students of Maidu culture, and for historians who study Butte and Plumas counties, the Gold Rush, and late nineteenth century Indian-white relations in northern California. □

Religion and Society in the American West. Historical Essays.

Edited by Carl Guarneri and David Alvarez. (New York: University Press of America, 1987. 491 pp. \$36.50 cloth, \$23.75 paper.)

Reviewed by Francis J. Weber, *Archivist for the Archdiocese of Los Angeles and Director of San Fernando Mission.*

Although there have always been divergent definitions and views of the West, the saga of gold rush immigrants and other pioneers, of gamblers, ranchers, cowboys and Indians has tended to dominate the historical treatment of the West. In his Introduction to this collection of essays, Professor Guarneri points out that popular magazines, movies, and television have tended to prolong that rather stilted and stereotyped portrayal of the West.

And though professional historians and amateur buffs generally paint a more comprehensive and realistic picture of Western history, they also have focused much of their attention on the frontier themes of conflict, settlement, and development.

Happily, in recent years, a small cadre of local, regional and denominational historians has begun incorporating the growth and impact of religious institutions, business enterprises, and family values into the written accounts. This collection of twenty essays clearly reveals

the pivotal role religion had in shaping the character of the colorful and distinctive region known as the American West.

The group of distinguished scholars here represented explore areas where religion either influenced local life or shaped public policy. Some of these articles offer thematic or topical overviews of religion, while others dwell on particular facets of religious development.

One could hardly read and study these presentations without concluding that the West has indeed been the scene of religious events and movements which have profoundly influenced millions in the area and in the nation as a whole.

This reviewer's nomination for the best of the essays would go to that of Eldon G. Ernst, whose treatise on "American Religious History from a Pacific Coast Perspective" provides a marvelous window to the era through the plateau of bibliography.

Apart from its rich contents, there is great value in a book of this nature. It brings together a wide spectrum of informative essays that otherwise might be lost or go unrecorded in the literary shuffle. Of course, as in all anthologies, the treatment of the various topics is uneven and somewhat unrelated. But having these essays in a central sourcebook is a plus factor that far outweighs any negative considerations. □

A History Reclaimed: An Annotated Bibliography of Chinese Language Materials on the Chinese of America.

By Him Mark Lai. (Los Angeles: Asian American Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles, 1986. 152 pp. \$15.00 paper.)

Reviewed by Sucheng Chan, *Professor of History at the University of California, Santa Cruz, and author of This*

Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860-1910 (1986).

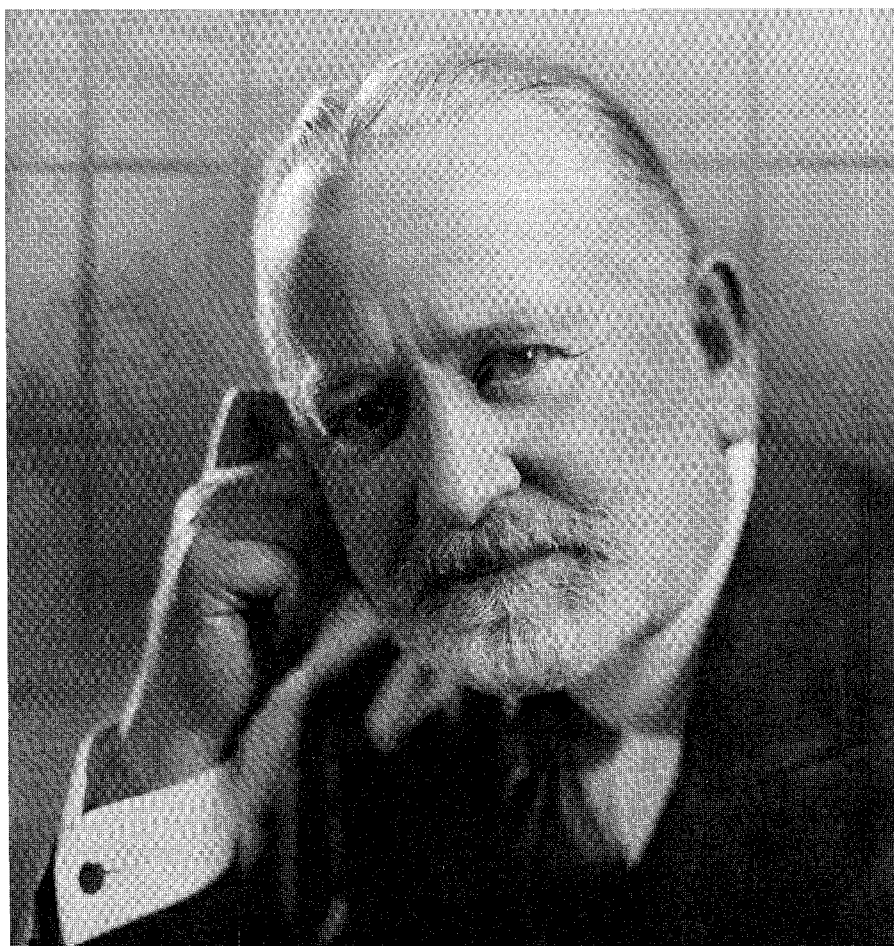
Although quite a lot had been written about the Chinese in America since the late nineteenth century, Chinese American history did not become a self-conscious field until the 1960s. Troubled by the racist or patronizing attitude of some Euro-American writers and the accommodationist views of certain pioneer Chinese American scholars, Chinese Americans who came of age in the 1960s and 1970s stressed the importance of using Chinese-language sources and oral history to capture a "true" Chinese American perspective. However, though oral history has been fruitfully exploited, Chinese-language sources have not. The excuse has been that few such documents exist, when the truth is that many would-be scholars, regardless of their ethnic origins, simply do not have a sufficiently good command of Chinese to mine that which is available.

With the publication of *A History Reclaimed*, no more excuses are acceptable. The bibliography lists over 1,300 items, including primary sources, such as the records of political, economic, and social organizations, contemporary periodicals, handbooks, directories, letters, memoirs, and autobiographies, as well as a substantial secondary literature, published in the People's Republic of China, the Republic of China, Hong Kong, and the United States (including Hawaii).

The bulk of the materials listed is held in three libraries in the San Francisco Bay area: the East Asian Collection of the Hoover Institution of War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford University, the East Asian Library at the University of California, Berkeley, and the archives of the Chinese Historical Society of America (on permanent loan to the Asian American Studies Library at the University of California, Berkeley). Had Lai been able to go through collections elsewhere in the country, he would no doubt have found many more documents.

Lai has listed the materials under twelve categories: background to emigration (78 items), the overseas Chinese (146 items), immigration and exclusion (62 items), the Chinese in America (41 items), directories (71 items), Chinese American organizations (294 items), economy and business (53 items), biographies and travel accounts (260 items), sociocultural materials (43 items), China politics (153 items), journalism (35 items), and literature (114 items). I found the listings in the Chinese in America section disappointing, because many of them are merely translations of books originally published in English—and not very good books at that. The materials in the sections on Chinese American organizations, economy and business, biographies and travel accounts, and China politics will, I predict, be the ones that historians in the future will delve into most deeply.

The primary sources will have to be used with the same care that all social historians who plumb similar materials on other groups must exercise. The secondary writings—more than eighty percent of which were published after the 1930s—must also be used judiciously, for Lai does not always indicate in his annotations what sources their authors relied upon. Because the Chinese immigrant community was fraught with dissension during certain periods of its history, it is important to know precisely what point of view an author represented and how reliable the information contained in his or her work may be. The great value of both kinds of writings, of course, is that they will allow researchers to portray Chinese immigrants and their descendants in a far more nuanced and balanced manner than has hitherto been possible. For this, we are all in Him Mark Lai's debt. In the last quarter century, more than anyone else, he has set the standards that all who claim to be students of the Chinese American experience must follow. □



James Duval Phelan (1861–1930) succeeded to his father's banking fortune. He served as San Francisco's reform-minded mayor, 1897–1901, fighting the entrenched corrupt government. He later served as a Democrat in the U.S. Senate, 1915–1921. Patron of the arts, on his death, he bequeathed his fortune and famed Villa Montalvo, in Saratoga, to aid and support budding artists and writers. CHS Collections.

James D. Phelan and the Wilson Progressives of California.

By Robert E. Hennings. (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1985. 280 pp., \$50.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by James P. Walsh, Professor of History, San Jose State University and author of San Francisco's Hallinan: Toughest Lawyer in Town.

James Duval Phelan, perhaps California's most cultivated and well-read public personality of the early twentieth cen-

tury, would not enjoy this book. It contains a detailed, thorough, and critical scholarly assessment of one dimension of Phelan's abundant life. That dimension is Phelan as a California Democratic Party activist.

More focused than that, even, it treats Phelan within the context of that portion of the Progressive Movement with which President Woodrow Wilson associated himself. One result of this narrowing of the subject is the virtual exclusion of Phelan as three-term, reform mayor of San Francisco—perhaps his most successful political service. Phelan's achievements at honest urban governing and

progressive reform at the local level predated Wilson and, therefore, that analysis is beyond this book's bounds.

Professor Robert Henning's criticisms of Phelan are several and some are telling. He is understanding of Phelan's anti-Japanese fixation. The mania was endemic in California life. Very few were sufficiently unorthodox (like John P. Irish) to challenge the racism of the day and place. Yet, Phelan, though enlightened on most subjects which interested him, still accepted and traded in the Yellow Peril. Yes, he may have been correct in warning of Japan's military threat in the Pacific. But he discouraged sane and calm reflections upon Japanese Americans.

The list of Senator Phelan's limitations is interesting. His concept of office, according to Hennings, was that of advocate of California interests. Though less concisely stated, Phelan also saw himself as a supporter of Woodrow Wilson's legislative program. And Phelan's independence showed itself in matters related to the Irish freedom movement, a movement which did not compel Wilson's

interest or sympathy.

The author's interpretations of these matters are not flattering. Phelan's preoccupation with California interests is treated as a limitation of senatorial perspective. Full cooperation with the Democratic administration's legislative objectives is interpreted as toadyism. Likewise, Phelan's eloquent expressions for justice in Ireland are interpreted against him. The legislative toady became a foreign policy maverick which embarrassed the Wilson Administration.

A rival interpretation of the well developed data could be that Phelan tried valiantly to balance the natural demands of powerful state interests along with those of a dynamic and compelling president and those of Phelan's own heritage. Though far from successful on all fronts, Phelan owed no apologies when his Democratic Party affiliation determined his defeat in 1920.

The volume's conclusions (racism aside) are questionably harsh: Phelan and his followers occupied office but contributed little to the future welfare of the state and nation. Particularly, Phelan's

leadership provided no solid foundation for the Democratic Party of the future.

To Phelan, living in California was the best of all possible privileges. He once wrote that if he owned both California and heaven, he would live in California and rent out heaven. He gloried in its climate, geography, economy, society, and culture. This regional culture-in-the-making never would be amenable to cohesive party organization and dominance. Phelan's California was less of a restraint on the Senator than the author maintains.

This study began as a University of California, Berkeley, Ph.D. dissertation and has been revised and expanded for publication. Professor Hennings researched numerous and rich manuscript collections of the Bancroft Library. His book is clearly written, well edited, and is the most extensive, available treatment of a worthy subject. Phelan had many notable interests and activities. Progressive politics is significant among them. □

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Bean, Walton and J. J. Rawls. *California: An Interpretive History*. 5th edition. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1987. \$28.95 (paper) ISBN 0-07-004209-8. Order from: McGraw-Hill Book Company; 8171 Redwood Highway; Novato, CA 94947.

Brown, James L. *Dissension in Arcady: the Bear Flag Revolt*. Santa Clara: Academy Santa Clara, 1978. \$19.00 (cloth) ISBN 0-912314-15-X. Order from: Academy Santa Clara; 2464 El Camino, Suite 407; Santa Clara, CA 95051.

Browning, Peter. *Yosemite Place Names*. Lafayette: Great West Books, 1988. \$9.95 (paper) ISBN 0-944220-00-2. Order from: Great West Books; Post Office Box 1028; Lafayette, CA 94549.

Busch, Briton Cooper. (ed.). *Frémont's Private Navy*. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1988. \$36.00; no shipping charges on prepaid orders, otherwise \$1.50 (CA residents add 6% sales tax). Order from: The Arthur H. Clark Company; Post Office Box 230; Glendale, CA 91209-9874.

Carpenter, Virginia and Jane Mueller. *An Indexed Guide to the Works Progress Administration Project #3105 1936: A History of Orange County, California*. Santa Ana: Orange County Historical Society, 1988. \$12.50 (spiral bound). Order from: OCHS; Post Office Box 10984; Santa Ana, CA 92711.

Chandler, Arthur. *Old Tales of San Francisco*. Second edition. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall-Hunt Publishing Company, 1987. \$11.95 (paper) ISBN 0-8403-4385-X. Order from: Kendall-Hunt Publishing Company; a division of Wm. C. Brown Company Publishers; 2460 Kerper Blvd.; Dubuque, IA 52001.

Cornford, Daniel A. *Workers and Dissent in the Redwood Empire*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Temple University Press, 1987. \$29.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-87722-499-4. Order from: Temple University Press; Broad and Oxford Streets; University Services Building; Room 305; Philadelphia, PA 19122.

Cummins, Ella Sterling. *Story of the Flies: A Review of Californian Writers and Literature 1852-1892*. San Leandro: Yosemite Collections. A reprint of the 1893 edition. \$22.50 (cloth). Order from: Yosemite Collections; 664 Maud Ave.; San

Leandro, CA 94577.

Dillion, Richard. *Captain John Sutter: Sacramento's Sainted Sinner*. Reprint edition (formerly titled *Fool's Gold*). Santa Cruz: Western Tanager Press, 1986. \$9.95 (paper), plus \$1.50 for postage and handling. Order from: Western Tanager Press; 1111 Pacific Avenue; Santa Cruz, CA 95060.

Ditzel, Paul. *A Century of Service: the Story of the Los Angeles Fire Department*. New Albany, Indiana: Fire Buff House, 1987. \$39.95 (paper), plus \$2.00 postage. Order from: Fire Buff House; Post Office Drawer 709; New Albany, Indiana 47150-0709.

Embry, Sue Kunitomi et al. *Manzanar Martyr: an interview with Harry Y. Ueno*. Fullerton: The Oral History Program, California State University, 1986. \$17.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-930046-07-2. Order from: California State University, Fullerton; Oral History Program; Japanese American Project; Fullerton, CA 92634.

Ethnic Groups in California: A Guide to Organizations and Information Resources. Second edition. Claremont: California Institute of Public Affairs, 1988. \$21.50 (plus \$1.40 tax for California residents), and \$2.00 postage. ISBN 0-912102-83-7. Order from: California Institute of Public Affairs; Post Office Box 10; Claremont, CA 91711.

Fink, Augusta. *Palos Verdes Peninsula: Time and the Terraced Land*. Santa Cruz: Western Tanager Press, 1987. \$9.95 (paper) plus \$1.50 for postage and handling. ISBN 0-934136-37-8. Order from: Western Tanager Press; 1111 Pacific Avenue; Santa Cruz, CA 95060.

Fletcher, Thomas C. *Paiute, Prospector, Pioneer: A History of the Bodie-Mono Lake Area in the Nineteenth Century*. Lee Vin-

ing: Artemisia Press, 1987. \$9.50 (paper) ISBN 0-932347-03-7. Order from: Artemisia Press; Post Office Box 119; Lee Vining, CA 93541.

Foster, Lynn V. *Fielding's California: the mission trail, San Diego to San Francisco*. New York: Fielding Travel Books, 1988. \$10.95 (paper) ISBN 0-688-04756-4. Order from: William Morrow & Company, Inc., c/o Wilmore warehouse; 39 Plymouth Street; Fairfield, NJ 07006.

Galen, Clark. *Indians of the Yosemite*. Walnut Creek: Diablo Books, 1988. Reprint of 1907 edition. \$8.95 (paper) ISBN 0-9607-520-1-3. Order from: Diablo Books; 1317 Canyonwood #1; Walnut Creek, CA 94595.

Gane, Sally. *Growing Up in Santa Barbara*. Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Historical Society, 1988. \$10.00 (paper). Order from: Santa Barbara Historical Society; Post Office Box 578; Santa Barbara, CA 93102.

Gavin, Camille and Kathy Leverett. *Kern's Movers & Shakers*. Bakersfield: The Kern Foundation, 1987. \$29.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-9618770-0-6. Order from: The Kern View Foundation; a division of the Kern View Community Hospital; 3600 San Dimas Street; Bakersfield, CA 93301.

Hall, Wallace W. *The California Library Services Act of 1977: personal reflections and reminiscences*. Sacramento: California State Library Foundation, 1987. \$5.75 plus \$2.00 postage and handling (CA residents add 6% sales tax). Order from: California State Library Foundation; Post Office Box 942837; Sacramento, CA 94237-0001.

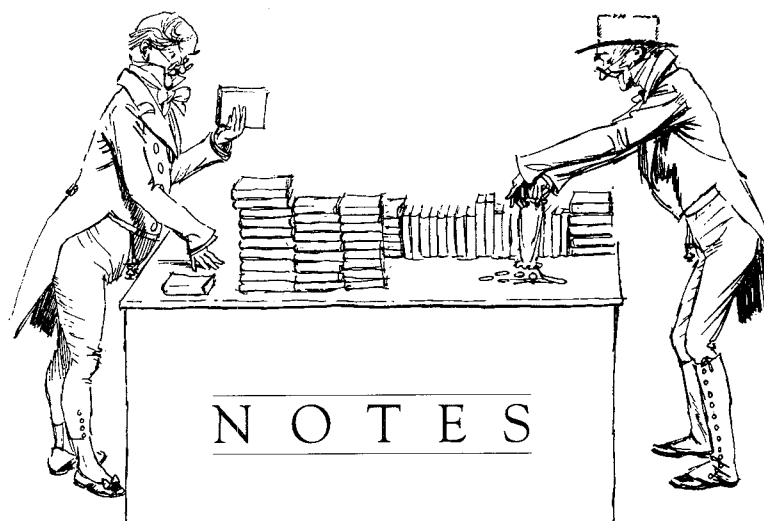
Haslam, Gerald. *Voices of a Place: Social and Literary Essays from the Other California*. Walnut Creek: Devil Mountain Books, 1987. \$7.95 (paper) ISBN 0-915685-05-1. Order from: Devil Mountain Books; Post Office Box 4115; Walnut Creek, CA 94596.

Heizer, Ruth Bradfute. *Bradfute Beginnings: The Story of the Ancestors and Descendants of Robert Bradfute (1749-1816?) of Scotland and Virginia*. Georgetown, Kentucky: Gateway Press, 1988. \$30.00 (cloth), postage paid. Order from: Dr. Ruth Bradfute Heizer; 419 East Main Street; Georgetown, KY 40324.

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- vello. *Cities and Towns of San Joaquin County Since 1847*. Fresno: Panorama West Publishing, 1985. \$27.50 (tax and postage included). Order from: Diablo Books; 1317 Canyonwood #1; Walnut Creek, CA 94595.
- Johnston, Francis J. *The Bradshaw Trail*. Revised edition. Riverside: Historical Commission Press, 1987. \$12.95. Order from: Historical Commission Press; Riverside County Parks Department; Post Office Box 3507; Riverside, CA 92519.
- Lanyon, Milton and Laurence Bulmore. *Cinnabar Hills: the Quicksilver Days of New Almaden*. Santa Clara: Academy Santa Clara, 1967. \$22.00 (cloth) 0-912314-20-6. Order from: Academy Santa Clara; 2464 El Camino, Suite 407; Santa Clara, CA 95051.
- Larkey, Joann L. and Shipley Walters. *Yolo County: Land of Changing Patterns*. Northridge: Windsor Publications, 1987. \$25.95 ISBN 0-89781-223-9. Order from: Windsor Publications; Post Office Box 9071; Northridge, CA 91328.
- McQuiston, F.W. Jr. *Gold: The Saga of the Empire Mine 1850-1956*. Grass Valley: Empire Mine Park Association, 1986. \$7.95 (paper) ISBN 0-931892-07-4. Order from: Blue Dolphin Publishers, Inc.; Post Office Box 1908; Nevada City, CA 95959.
- Minnick, Sylvia Sun. *Samfow: The San Joaquin Chinese Legacy*. Fresno: Panorama West Publishing, 1988. \$25.00 (cloth) ISBN 0-944194-09-5, \$14.95 (paper) ISBN 0-944194-10-9. Order from: Panorama West Publishing; 2350 East Gettysburg Avenue; Suite C; Fresno, CA 93726.
- Muir, John. *My First Summer in the Sierra*. A commemorative limited edition. Covelo: Yolla Bolly Press, 1988. \$785.00 (cloth). Order from: Carolyn and James Robertson; The Yolla Bolly Press; Main Street; Covelo, CA 95428.
- Musmann, Klaus. (comp. and ed.) *The Helen and Vernon Farquhar Collection of California and the Great Southwest: A Bibliography of Books and Journals in the Armacost Library of the University of Redlands*. Redlands: The University of Redlands, 1987. \$75.00 (cloth). Order from: University of Redlands; Armacost Library; Farquhar Bibliography; Redlands, CA 92374-3755.
- Myrick, David. *Montecito and Santa Barbara: from farms to estates*. Glendale: Trans-Anglo Books, 1988. \$42.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-87046-083-8 (vol. 1). Order from: Trans-Anglo Books, a division of Interurban Press; Post Office Box 6444; Glendale, CA 91205.
- Newton, Janet. *Jack London's Boyhood in Livermore*. Livermore: Livermore Heritage Guild, 1988. \$3.50 plus \$1.00 postage. Order from: Janet Newton; 2131 Chateau Place; Livermore, CA 94550.
- Powers, Bob. *Cowboy Country*. Kernville: 1988. \$20.00 (includes tax and postage). Order from: Bob Powers; Post Office Box 204; Kernville, CA 93238.
- Rice, Richard B. et al. *The Elusive Eden: A New History of California*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988. ISBN 0-394-34157-0 (cloth) \$00.00. Order from: Random House Inc.; 400 Hahn Road; Westminster, MD 21157.
- Gordon, John D. III. *Authorized By No Law: The San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1856 and the United States Circuit Court for the Districts of California*. Pasadena: Ninth Judicial Circuit Historical Society, 1987. \$6.00 (paper) ISBN 0-9618731-0-8. Order from: Ninth Judicial Circuit Historical Society; Post Office Box 2558; Pasadena, CA 91102-2558.
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- Schad, Jerry. *California Deserts*. Helena and Billings, Montana: Falcon Press Publishing, 1988. \$24.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-937959-14-6, \$14.95 (paper) ISBN 0-937959-15-4, include \$1.50 postage and handling for each book. Orders to: Falcon Press; Post Office Box 279; Billings, MT 59103.
- Stegner, Wallace. *The American West as Living Space*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1987. \$18.00 (cloth) ISBN 0-472-09375-4 (cloth), \$10.00 (paper) ISBN 0-472-6375-8. Order from: The University of Michigan Press; 839 Greene Street; Ann Arbor, MI 48106.
- Stromquist, Shelton. *A Generation of Boomers: The Pattern of Railroad Labor Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America*. Champaign, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1987. \$29.95 (cloth) ISBN 01302-6. Order from: University of Illinois Press c/o CUP Services; Post Office Box 6525; Ithaca, NY 14851.
- Tompkins, Walker, A. *Cottage Hospital: the First Hundred Years*. Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Cottage Hospital Foundation, 1988. \$25.00 (cloth). Order from: Santa Barbara Cottage Hospital Foundation; Post Office Box 689; Santa Barbara, CA 93104.
- Tompkins, Walker A. *Queen Annie of Glen Annie*. Santa Barbara: Westerners. Santa Barbara Corral, 1988. \$3.00 (paper). Order from: Santa Barbara Corral of the Westerners; Post Office Box 1454; Santa Barbara, CA 93102.
- Waid, Beverly Hendrickson. *My Inherited Destiny: Ten First Families of California*. Orange Park Acres: B.H. Waid, 1985. \$50.00 (cloth). Order from: Beverly Hendrickson Waid; 10686 S. Meads; Orange, CA 92669.
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- Weber, Msgr. Francis J. (comp. and ed.). *The California Missions: Bibliography*. Los Angeles: Archdiocese of Los Angeles, 1986. \$20.00 (cloth). Order from: Dawson's Bookshop; 535 North Larchmont Boulevard; Los Angeles, CA 90004.



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2. Sherburne F. Cook, "The Monterey Surgeons During the Spanish Period in California," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 5 (1937): 67-68.
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4. *Ibid.*, p. 353.
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8. California Mission Document 489, September 26, 1805, San Carlos de Monterey.
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19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*
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22. *Ibid.*
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25. Field, *Where Castilian Roses Bloom*, p. 30.
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30. Bancroft, *History of California*, II: 388.
31. Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library.
32. Harris, *California's Medical Story*, p. 29.
33. Hubert H. Bancroft, *California Pastoral* (San Francisco, 1888), p. 632.
34. Cook, "The Monterey Surgeons During the Spanish Period in California," pp. 70-71.
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29; George D. Lyman, "The Scalpel Under Three Flags in California," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, IV (1925): 148.

36. Cook, "The Monterey Surgeons During the Spanish Period in California," p. 72.
37. Ramo *Californias*, vol. 62, Bancroft Library.
38. Burial Record 2460 (1823), Archives of Diocese of Monterey.
39. Archives of Mission San Carlos de Monterey.

Lyman, Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe, pp. 94-107.

1. Remi Nadeau, *City-Makers: The Story of Southern California's First Boom, 1868-76* (Corona del Mar, 1965), pp. 113-126, 139; Neill G. Wilson & Frank J. Taylor, *Southern Pacific: The Roaring Story of a Fighting Railroad* (New York, 1952), pp. 61-63; Neill G. Wilson, *Silver Stampede: The Career of Death Valley's Hell-Camp, Old Panamint* (New York, 1937); Los Angeles *Herald*, January 1, 14, 23, May 20, December 29, 1875.
2. Keith L. Bryant, Jr., *History of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway* (Lincoln, Neb., 1974, 1982), pp. 8, 74-79, 84-85.
3. *Ibid.* pp. 90-92.
4. Ward McAfee, *California's Railroad Era, 1850-1911* (San Marino, 1973), p. 113; San Bernardino *Daily Times*,

- November 22, 1875, reported a citizens' meeting, chaired by John Brown, favorable to approaching Southern Pacific about rerouting their main line through San Bernardino and having a depot there. Obviously the price proved too high. San Bernardino *Argus*, November 22, 1875, suggested joining with Jay Gould and San Bernardino *Times*, December 22, 1875, accurately predicted that some day there would be three major railroad lines utilizing Cajon Pass.
5. Irene Phillips, *The Railroad Story of San Diego County* (National City, CA, 1956), pp. 23, 25–27.
 6. Luther A. Ingersoll, *Century Annals of San Bernardino County, 1769 to 1904* (Los Angeles, 1904), p. 257; Larry E. Burgess, "Fred T. Perris: Pioneer and Enegizer," *Heritage Tales* (San Bernardino, 1979), p. 51, note 17, cites Isaacs' editorial on the importance of the visit of Santa Fe officials.
 7. L. Burr Belden, "History in the Making," San Bernardino *Sun*, May 11, 1952; May 1, 1955.
 8. L.L. Waters, *Steel Trails to Santa Fe* (Lawrence, KS, 1950), p. 72.
 9. Phillips, *Railroad Story*, pp. 34–42.
 10. James Marshall, *Santa Fe: The Railroad that Built an Empire* (New York, 1945), pp. 181–184.
 11. Richard V. Dodge and R.P. Middlebrook, "The California Southern Railroad: A Rail Drama of the Southwest," *The Railway and Locomotive Historical Society Bulletin*, No. 80 (May 1950): 17–35; Phillips, *Railroad Story*, pp. 5–65; Douglas L. Lowell, "The California Southern Railroad and the Growth of San Diego," *San Diego History*, XXXI (Fall 1985): 245–279; XXXII (Winter 1986): 27–42.
 12. San Bernardino *Valley Index*, December 3, 1880; June 3, 10, 1881. Perris had been surveying for California Southern Railroad since at least December 1880. Waters, *Steel Trails*, pp. 131–133.
 13. Marshall, *Santa Fe*, pp. 184–186.
 14. *Ibid.*, pp. 186–187; Thomas Nickerson to C.P. Huntington, October 30, 1883, Collis P. Huntington Papers, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York; Los Angeles *Times*, August 11, 1883, citing the San Bernardino *Times*, August 7, 1883.
 15. *Riverside Press and Horticulturist*, August 11, 1883.
 16. Los Angeles *Times*, August 11, 14, 1883, former date citing the San Bernardino *Times*, August 7; the latter, the San Bernardino *Index*, August 10, 1883.
 17. Jacob Victor to Thomas Nickerson, date not noted in Waters, *Steel Trails*, p. 133.
 18. Marshall, *Santa Fe*, p. 187.
 19. San Bernardino County Superior Court, *Register of Actions*, Case 453, *California Southern R.R. Co. vs. Southern Pacific R.R. Co. and W.D. Co.*, 1882–1883, pp. 11, 117, 172, 212, 238, including over one hundred pages of motions, demurers, appeals, etc. Byron Waters, attorney for the plaintiffs, was also a boyhood acquaintance of Rolfe and Perris in old San Bernardino.
 20. Los Angeles *Times*, August 18, 1883, citing the San Bernardino *Index*, August 16, 1883.
 21. A.E. Touzalin to Collis P. Huntington, May 18, 1883, C.P. Huntington Papers. Certainly the threat to build an independent railway west from Needles was a poorly veiled bluff, but Strong and his associates had come to believe the clause in the Atlantic and Pacific charter demanding connection with Southern Pacific did not preclude their also building an independent roadway. See Waters, *Steel Trails*, pp. 128–130.
 22. Charles Crocker to Collis P. Huntington, November 1, 1883, C.P. Huntington Papers.
 23. Crocker to Huntington, November 6, 1883, C.P. Huntington Papers.
 24. Henry E. Huntington to Collis P. Huntington, July 16, 1892, Collis P. Huntington to Henry E. Huntington, July 21, 1892, Henry E. Huntington Correspondence, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
 25. Jay Gould to J.W. Seligman, August 1, 1883, copy, C.P. Huntington Papers.
 26. *Chicago Railway Age*, February 21, 1884.
 27. *Riverside Press and Horticulturist*, March 8, 1884; April 26, 1884; Collis P. Huntington to Charles Fred Crocker, July 18, 1893, H.E. Huntington Papers; New York *Times*, July 6, 1884. Actual arrangement transferring the Mojave branch was first by lease, until clear title could be secured by Southern Pacific to complete the transfer of the property to Santa Fe.
 28. Frederick T. Perris to Jacob Victor, January 7, February 1, 1884, California Southern Letterbooks [letterpress copybooks], Huntington Library.
 29. Franklin Hoyt, "San Diego's First Railroad: the California Southern," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXXIII (May 1954): 141; Bryant *Santa Fe Railroad*, p. 100; *Riverside Press and Horticulturist*, November 24, 1883; April 19, 26, 1884.
 30. Bryant, *Santa Fe Railway*, pp. 100–101; *Riverside Press and Horticulturist*, July 31, August 9, 1884.
 31. *Riverside Press and Horticulturist*, August 9, October 11, December 20, 1884.
 32. Perris to Victor, June 10, 1884, California Southern Letterbooks.
 33. Perris to Henry H. Markham, February 8, 1885; Perris to Victor, February 23, 1885. Henry H. Markham Papers, Huntington Library; California Southern Letterbooks.
 34. *Riverside Press and Horticulturist*, April 18, 1885, citing *Calico Print*, on Waterman crew and San Bernardino *Index* on Colton crew, July 16, September 8, October 20, 1885.
 35. *Riverside Press and Horticulturist*, November 21, 1885; Marshall, *Santa Fe*, p. 190.
 36. Bryant, *Santa Fe Railway*, p. 102; Glenn S. Dumke, *The Boom of the Eighties in Southern California* (San Marino, CA 1944), p. 21, cites Southern Pacific rates between Los Angeles and Colton [70 miles] as high as between Los Angeles and Chicago.
 37. Pauliena B. LaFuze, *Saga of the San Bernardinos* (2 vols., San Bernardino, 1971), II: 193–194.
 38. Dumke, *Boom of the Eighties* pp. 9, 23–27, 129–130, 269–270, 274–276; Los Angeles *Times*, April 5, 1896.

Ahlquist and Kolosvari, Teacher, pp. 108–117

The authors wish to express their gratitude to Mr. Frederick Garland

Moore of Piedmont, California, for the use of his California collection.

1. California State Normal School was funded in 1857 in San Francisco, moved to San Jose in 1870. In 1921 the institute's name changed to San Jose State Teacher's College, then San Jose State College in 1935. In 1960 the College became part of the California State University, and was named San Jose State University in 1974.
 2. Writer Program: *Berkeley, The First Seventy Years* (Berkeley, California: Gillick Press, 1941), p.2.
 3. Oscar O. Winther, *Express and Stagecoach Days in California* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1936), p. 28.
 4. Lucius Beebe and Charles Clegg: *U.S. West. The Saga of Wells Fargo*. (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1949), p. 133.
 5. Bodie *Weekly Star*, Dec. 11, 1878.
 6. Willystine Goodsell, ed.: *Pioneers of Woman's Education in the United States*. (New York: AMS Press, 1970), p. 129.
 7. *Ibid.*, p. 133.
 8. Kroeber, Theodora: *Ishi in Two Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961).
- Jensen, Peace, pp. 118-131.
1. Clippings and information on her later activities were supplied by Florence Stevens of Del Mar. The author would especially like to thank Stevens, Etallie Wallace and Lucia Simons for sharing memories and sources about Marston's life. Grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities and New Mexico State Research Center enabled me to make trips to San Diego, to Stanford University, and to the Peace Collection at Swarthmore College to complete this research. Judy Adams, who is conducting oral history interviews of later Bay Area activists, generously shared her work and helped me locate information on the Palo Alto WILPF.
 2. Biographical information on Marston's father is from: Nicholas C. Polos, "George White Marston: The Merchant Prince of San Diego." *Journal of San Diego History* XXX (Fall 1984):252-278; Uldes Allen Portis, "George W. Marston and the San Diego Progressives, 1913-1917," (M.A. thesis, San Diego State University, 1976); and Mary Gilman Marston, *George White Marston: A Family Chronicle*, 2 vols. (Los Angeles: Ritchie, 1956).
 3. *Ibid.* II, 173, 187-221.
 4. Helen Marston to George White Marston, February 27, 1916, copy supplied by Lucia Simons. Marston did not enroll in any of Balch's classes. Balch left on sabbatical in fall 1916 and never returned to Wellesley. For an earlier but parallel influence on a California woman at Wellesley see Lisa Rubens, "The Patrician Radical Charlotte Anita Whitney," *California History* LXV (September 1986):158-171.
 5. Wellesley College, Wellesley, Massachusetts, *The Sequel* 3(April 1919):60, 4(April 1920):51.
 6. *The Sequel* 2(April 1918):67.
 7. Helen Marston to Family, June 1, 1921 and Marston to Mother, August 2, 1921. Copies supplied by Lucia Simons; and Marston, *George White Marston*, II, 244-245.
 8. *The Sequel* 7(May 1923):59, 9(May 1925):24, 10(April 1926):54, 11(June 1927):38, 12(June 1928):26, 14(August 1930):22, 15(August 1931):27.
 9. Balch Diary, January, 1924, entries, DG 6, Box 7, and letter dated January 13, 1924, Box 14 Emily Green Balch Papers, DG 6, Swarthmore College Peace Collection. Hereafter cited as SCPC.
 10. In discussing Helen's work briefly her sister wrote that although not a pacifist their father was sympathetic to Helen's interests and proud of her. Marston, *George White Marston*, II, 264.
 11. Letterhead listed civic leaders. See Box 2, Women's Peace Party. Hereafter cited as WPP, SCPC. For the international movement before 1915, see Sandi E. Cooper, "Women's Participation in European Movements: the Struggle to Prevent World War I," in Ruth Roach Pierson, ed., *Women and Peace: Theoretical, Historical and Practical Perspectives* (London: Croom Helm, 1987), 51-75. For World War I see Barbara J. Steinson, *American Women's Activism in World War I* (New York: Garland, 1982) and her "The Mother Half of Humanity: American Women in the Peace and Preparedness Movements in World War I," in Carol R. Berkin and Clara M. Lovett, eds., *Women, War, and Revolution* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1980).
 12. Judy Adams has underway a study of Park, one of the least studied of suffrage-pacifist leaders. Biographical information in her papers at Hoover Institute and the Huntington Library.
 13. Minute Book, "Palo Alto Branch, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom," Stanford University Archives, Women's Peace Oral History Project, Box 1. Hereafter cited as WPOHP. Josephine Whitney Duveneck, *Life at Two Levels: An Autobiography* (Los Altos: Kaufmann, 1978); Ellen Coit Elliott, *It Happened This Way: American Scene* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1940), pp. 224-227; and Sylvie Thygesen in Sherna Gluck, *From Parlor to Prison: Five American Suffragists Talk About Their Lives* (New York: Vintage, 1976), pp. 42-54. There is also correspondence on the Palo Alto branch from 1922-1923 in Series C.1, Box 2, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, U.S. Section. Hereafter cited as WILPF, SCPC.
 14. Park to WPP, November 6, 1915, Box 2, Woman's Peace Party. Hereafter cited as WPP, SCPC.
 15. Cumberson to Thomas, November 25, 1915, DG 43, Series A, Box 2, WPP, SCPC.
 16. Mrs. S.M. Richardson to Addams, August 2, 1916, Box 2, WPP, SCPC.
 17. Cumberson to Thomas, January 2, 1916, January 14, 1916, March 23, 1917, Box 2, WPP, SCPC.
 18. Annie Laurie Tait to Woods, December 28, 1922, Cumberson to Woods, March 8, 1922, DG 43, Series C, Box 2, WILPF, SCPC.
 19. "Sara Bard Field: Poet and Suffragist," Interviewed by Amelia Fry, 1979, Regional Oral History Office, Bancroft Library University of California, Berkeley. See also speaker's bureau in DG 43, Series A, Box 4, WPP, SCPC and Olmstead to Cum-

- berson, June 15, 1923, and Cumber-
son to Olmstead, June 23, 1923,
Series C.7, Box 4, WILPF, SCPC.
Parts of her 1921 speech before Con-
gress are in Blanche Wiesen Cook,
editor, *Crystal Eastman on Women and
Revolution* (New York: Oxford Uni-
versity Press, 1978), pp. 57–63.
20. Woods to Cumberston, March 23,
1923, DG 43, Series C, Box 2, WILPF,
SCPC; Joan M. Jensen, "All Pink Sis-
ters: The War Department and the
Women's Movement in the 1920s,"
in Lois Scharf and Joan M. Jensen,
editors, *Decades of Discontent: The
Women's Movement, 1920–1940* (West-
port, Ct.: Greenwood, 1983), pp.
199–222.
21. Typescript of debate is in Series B.4,
Box 3, Santa Barbara File, WILPF,
SCPC. Marston to Woods, Septem-
ber 21, 1924, Series C.1, Box 2,
WILPF, SCPC. Ivan Deering actually
organized the debate while Marston
was afraid it would show their weak-
ness. Notes from Florence Stevens.
22. Mrs. Chauncey M. McGovern, June
25 to Detzer, Mills to Detzer, May 1,
1931, Mary Whittemore to Detzer,
December 6, 1931, Smith to Detzer,
August 30, 1930, Series C.2, Box 7,
WILPF, SCPC.
23. See correspondence in C.1, Box 16,
and Blanca Biermann-Sanders to
WILPF, undated, received April 27,
1936, Series C.1, Box 22, WILPF,
SCPC.
24. Marston to Woods, September 21,
1924, Series C.1, Box 2; Marston to
Detzer, July 9, 1925 and March 3,
1926, Series C.2, Box 7, DG 43,
WILPF, SCPC. Marston-Beardsley to
Olmstead, July 29, 1936, Series C.1,
Box 12, WILPF, SCPC.
25. See Minutes and Reports of Annual
State Meetings, California Series
B.4, Box 1, WILPF, SCPC.
26. The postwar split is discussed in
Joan M. Jensen and Gloria Ricci
Lothrop, *California Women: A History*
(San Francisco: Boyd and Fraser,
1987), p. 89. Discussions of Cumber-
son's organizing are in her letters to
headquarters.
27. Minutes and Reports of Annual
State Meetings, California Series
B.4, Box 1, WILPF, SCPC.
28. See Palo Alto Minutes Folder 1922,
Box 1, WPOHP, Stanford University
Archives; Tait to Woods, December
28, 1922, Series C.1, Box 2, WILPF,
SCPC.
29. Minutes Book, Palo Alto Branch,
WILPF, WPOHP, Box 1, Stanford
University Archives.
30. Minutes and Reports of Annual
State Meetings, California, Series
B.4, Box 1, WILPF, SCPC.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid. and 1925–1927 correspondence
Series C.2, Box 7, WILPF, SCPC. No
local records for the Los Angeles
branch have yet been located. The
Pasadena records are at the SCPC.
33. Marston to Detzer, December 14,
1932, Series C.1, Box 12, WILPF,
SCPC. Some branches in other states
became more moderate rather than
moving left. See Brenda J. Marston,
"We Want Our Vote to Count: Wom-
en's Peace Activism, 1914–1934,"
(M.A. thesis, University of Wiscon-
sin, Madison, 1985), which found the
Wisconsin group less radical in
1924–1934 than it had been in 1922–
1924. There are as yet no other state
studies.
34. For Rumball's earlier activity see Joan
M. Jensen, "The Uprising in Roch-
ester," in Joan M. Jensen and Sue
Davidson, editors, *A Needle, A Bob-
bin, A Strike: Women Needleworkers in
America* (Philadelphia: Temple Uni-
versity Press, 1984), pp. 94–113. For
Ethelwyn Mills see *Peace Brevities*,
vol. 1, no. 3 (November 1935), Series
B.4, Box 2, WILPF, SCPC.
35. See Minutes for the 9th California
State Convention, September 30–
October 1, 1938, Series B.4, Box 1,
WILPF, SCPC. Carrie A. Foster-
Hayes, "The Women and the Warri-
ors: Dorothy Detzer and the WILPF,"
(Ph.D. diss., University of Denver,
1984), p. 185.
36. Fanny Bixby Spencer, *The Jazz of
Patriotism* (Long Beach, CA: Mayle,
n.d.).
37. Mrs. Jessie Ben Hooper to Balch,
May 28, 1924, Series C.1, Box 2,
WILPF, SCPC.
38. See correspondence Series B.4, Box
2 and newsletter *Peace Brevities*,
1935–1938, in WILPF, SCPC.
39. Marston to Detzer, March 1, 1932,
December 14, 1932, WILPF, SCPC.
40. Detzer to Marston, December 21,
1932, Series C.1, Box 12, WILPF,
SCPC.
41. Marston to Olmsted, April 3, 1933,
Series C.1, Box 12, WILPF, SCPC.
42. Imperial Valley accounts from Los
Angeles *The Open Forum*, 11, no. 9,
(March 3, 1934); and San Diego
Union, March 19, 1934; "HMB's Auto-
biographical Notes," all from Flor-
ence Stevens; and interview with
Etallie Wallace; *The Sequel* 181(De-
cember 1934):29.
43. See *Peace Brevities*, Series B.4, Box 2,
WILPF, SCPC.
44. WILPF, which hoped to collect one
million signatures, eventually col-
lected only 150,000 from the entire
country. Thus the California branch
collected over 20 percent of the entire
amount. See Foster-Hayes, "Women
and Warriors," pp. 370–374.
45. Reported in *Peace Brevities*, Series
B.4, Box 2, WILPF, SCPC.
46. Minutes, 9th Annual State Conven-
tion, September 30, 1938, Minutes
10th Annual State Convention, Sep-
tember 29–30, 1939; Minutes of An-
nual Convention, October 4–5, 1940;
Minutes, 12th Annual Convention,
October 10–11, 1941; and Foster-
Hayes, "Women and the Warriors,"
p. 641.
47. Marston-Beardsley to Detzer, May
28, 1940, September 24, 1940, Series
C.1, Box 29, WILPF, SCPC.
48. Marston-Beardsley to Balch, Feb-
ruary 15, 1946, Emily Greene Balch
Papers, DG 6, Box 20, SCPC.
49. *The Sequelette*, (April 1958):10.
50. *The Sequel*, 31(May 1981):18.
51. Postwar activities in clippings sup-
plied by Florence Stevens. Interview
with Etallie Wallace, August 1986;
interview with Florence Stevens,
August 1986. Quote from notes sup-
plied by Stevens.
52. Foster-Hayes, "Women and the
Warriors," pp. 41–49.
53. The best analyses of women and
pacifism are Micaela Di Leonardo,
"Morals, Mothers, and Militarism:
Antimilitarism and Feminist The-
ory," *Feminist Studies* 11(Fall 1985):
599–617; and Berenice A. Carroll,
"Feminism and Pacifism: Historical
and Theoretical Conditions," in Pier-
son, *Women and Peace*, pp. 2–24.

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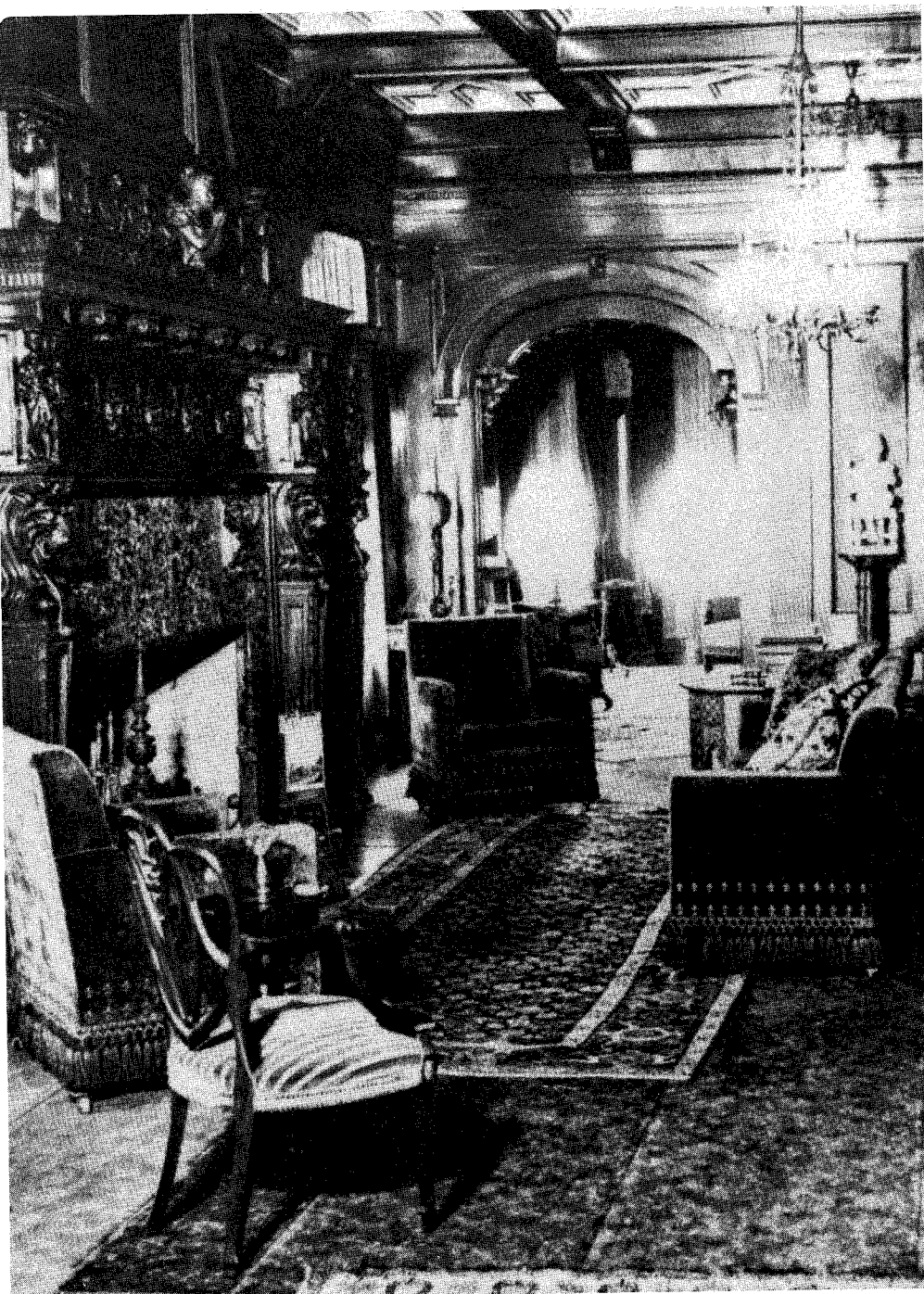
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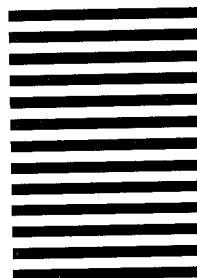
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